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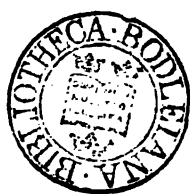
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Edward Earl of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford An Dni. 1667.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς αἰ. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

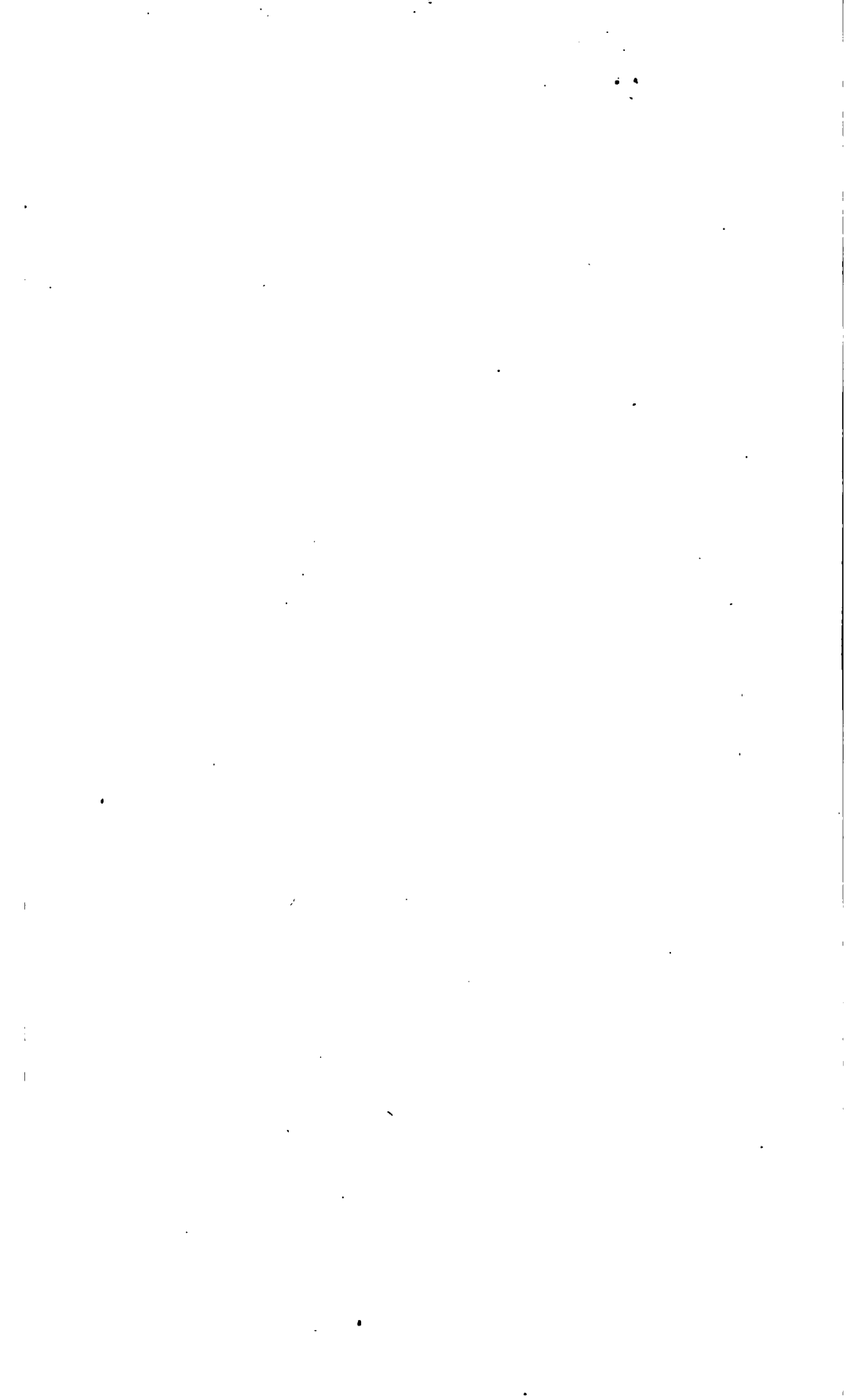
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T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K VIII.

2 Efd. v. 9.

And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall Wit hide it self, and Understanding withdraw it self into his secret Chamber.

H. III. 5.

And the People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child shall behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honourable.

AS the Winter had been very unprosperous, and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the Enemy the year ensuing; so the Spring enter'd with no better preface. When both Armies had enter'd into their Winter Quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending Sir *William Waller* into the West, put the King upon the resolution of having such a Body in his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince *Maurice's* being disturb'd in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garrison of *Bristol*, and those Western Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time

Vol. II. Part 2. H h raised

raised a pretty Body of Foot and Horse; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Munster*, under the Command of *Sr Charles Vavasour*, and *Sr John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horse under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been transported, according to former Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Brissol*, since the Cessation, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*, and shortly after to *Winchester*; whither *Sr John Berkley* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raised by him in *Devon-shire*; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horse; which, in so good a Post as *Winchester* was, would in a short time have grown to a considerable Army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended *Waller* in his Western Expedition; nor did He expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was inform'd of the Lord *Hopton's* being at *Winchester* with such a strength, he retir'd to *Farnham*; and Quarter'd there, till he gave his Masters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the Party, in all places, that wish'd well to the King (which consisted of most of the Gentry in most Counties; and for the present were aw'd, and kept under by the Militia; and the Committees of Parliament) had so good an opinion of their own Reputation and Interest, that they believ'd they were able, upon the Assistance of few Troops, to suppress their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possess'd of, exercised their Authority over them with great rigour, and insolence. And so the Lord *Hopton* was no sooner possessed of *Winchester*, where *Sr William Ogle* had likewise seized upon the Castle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *Sussex*, and of the adjacent parts of *Hampshire*, sent privately to him, "that if he would advance into Their Country, they would undertake, in a short time, to make great Levies of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they should be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part of the Country in the King's Obedience.

Sr Edward Ford, a Gentleman of a good Family, and fair Fortune in *Sussex*, had then a Regiment of Horse in the Lord *Hopton's* Troops, and the King had made him High Sheriff of *Sussex* that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all besought the

the Lord *Hopton*, "that he would, since *Waller* was not like "to advance, at least send some Troops into those parts, to "give a little Countenance to the Levies they should be well "able to make; assuring him, "that they would, in the first "place, seize upon *Arundel* Castle; which, standing near the "Sea, would yield great advantage to the King's Service, "and keep that rich Corner of the Country at his Majesty's "Devotion. These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the Lord *Hopton*, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller* in a Battle, upon old accounts, to with himself at Liberty to comply with those Gentlemen's desires: of all which, he gave such an Account to the King, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers; for that Quarter of *Sussex*, which he meant to visit, was a fast and inclosed Country, and *Arundel* Castle had a Garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an Enemy.

It was about *Christmas*, and the King had no farther design for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from visiting and disturbing the West, and to recruit his Army to such a degree as to be able to take the Field early; which he knew the Rebels resolv'd to do: yet the good Post the Lord *Hopton* was already possess'd of at *Winchester*, and these positive undertakings from *Sussex*, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The King had likewise great Assurance of the general good Affections of the County of *Kent*; inasmuch as the People had with difficulty been restrain'd from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *Sussex*, it might produce an Association little inferior to that of the Southern Counties under the Earl of *Manchester*; and might, by the Spring, be an occasion of that distraction to the Parliament, that they should not well know to what part to dispose their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

THESE, and other reasons prevailing, the King gave the Lord *Hopton* order to prosecute his design upon *Sussex*, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that *Waller* should not make advantage, upon that Enterprize, to find the way open to him to march into the West. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, Sir *Jacob Astley* was likewise sent to him from *Reading*, with a thousand commanded Men of that Garrison, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which supply no sooner arriv'd

riv'd at *Winchester*, but the Lord *Hopton* resolv'd to visit *Waller's* Quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. *Waller* was then Quarter'd at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to Fight, but, after some light Skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always receiv'd loss, he retired himself into the Castle of *Farnham*, a place of some strength; and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days, went himself to *London*, more effectually to sollicite Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* saw that he could attempt no farther upon those Troops, and was fully assured that *Sr William Waller* was himself gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Sussex*; and march'd thither, with such a Body of Horse and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in it's Situation was strong; and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the Walls were good, and the Graff broad, and deep; and though the Garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful Army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any suddain Assault; and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the Attempts of those without. But the Provisions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded, had not been accusom'd to the prospect of an Enemy. So upon an easy and short Summons, that threaten'd his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of Courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the Soldiers, the Castle was Surrender'd the third day; and appear'd to be a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good Army.

*Arundel-
Castle Sur-
render'd to
the Lord
Hopton :*

THE Lord *Hopton*, after he had stay'd there five or six days, and caus'd Provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to *Sr Edward Ford*, High Sheriff of the County, with a Garrison of above two hundred Men; besides many good Officers; who desir'd, or were very willing, to stay there; as a place very favourable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended.

tended. And, it may be, the more remain'd there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

THE News of *Sr William Waller's* return to *Farnham* with strong recruits of Horse and Foot, made it necessary to the Lord *Hopton*, to leave *Arundel* Castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not easy to be govern'd, nor like to conform themselves to such strict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoyn'd to them was, "in the first place, setting "all other things aside, to draw in store of Provisions of all "kinds, both for the Numbers they were already, and for "such as would probably in a short time be added to them; all which from the great plenty that Country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remain'd long such a Thorn in the side of the Parliament, as would have render'd it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

WALLER's Journey to *London* answer'd his expectation; and his Presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord *Hopton's* Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that Lord had made in *Sussex*, and his taking *Arundel* Castle, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awaken'd all their jealousies and Apprehensions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other places; and looked like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their Armies by Levies of Volunteers, and perswading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their Freedom, for the time they Fought for them, as if they had remained in their Master's Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this Torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whose Affections the Person of *Sr William Waller* was most acceptable; and perswaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest Re-

giments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham*; which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Essex* to give his Orders to *St William Balfour*, with one thousand of the Horse of his Army, likewise to observe *Waller's* Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made hast to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the Lord *Hopton's* Troops lay Quarter'd, at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions (as beating up of Quarters was his Master-piece) all the Night; and, by the break of day, encompass'd a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the Horse took the Alarm quickly, and for the most part, made their escape to *Winchester*, the head Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was return'd but the Night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, consisting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garrison of *Wallingford*, when he found himself encompass'd by the Enemies Army of Horse and Foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his Men into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to Barricadoe the doors; so that the Enemy enter'd almost assoon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the Soldiers, overpower'd, threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter; which was likewise offer'd to the Colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till with the death of two or three of the Assailants, he was killed in the place; his Enemies giving him a testimony of great Courage and Resolution.

WALLER knew well the impression the loss of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton's* Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horse which had escaped, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make hast to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard Frost continuing, he marched with all his Army to *Arundel* Castle, where he found that Garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For instead of encreasing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had spent much of that Store which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governour was a Man of Honesty and Courage, but unacquainted with that Affair, having no other experience in War, than what he had learn'd since these Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongst whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an Irish-man, though he called himself *Bensfield*, was
one;

one; who, being a Man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself Governour. In this distraction *Waller* found them, and by some of the Soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so encreased their Faction, and Animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four days, near half the Men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the Place and Themselves up, as Prisoners of War upon Quarter; the Place being able to have defended it self against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the Learned and Eminent Mr *Chillingworth* was taken Prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the Season, chose to repose himself in that Garrison, till the Weather should mend. As soon as his Person was known, which would have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their Barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with Learned Men.

*It is retaken
by Sir Will.
Waller.*

THE Lord *Hopton* sustain'd the loss of that Regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a Battle with *Waller*, to make even all Accounts; and made what hast he could, upon the first Advertisement, to have redeem'd that Misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to Relieve *Arundel* Castle; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: But that hope quickly vanish'd, upon the undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the News that *Waller* was return'd with a full Resolution to prosecute his design upon the West: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late Successors, with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the Horse which belonged to the Earl of *Essex's* Army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* to dismiss them.

UPON the News the King receiv'd of the great supply the Parliament had so suddainly sent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and from the City, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the Neighbour Garrisons. And the Earl

of *Bromford*, General of the Army, who had a fast Friendship with the Lord *Hopton*, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his Winter Quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should, and cherished that disposition, being desirous that so great an Officer might be present in an Army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great Experience. So the General, with such Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Winchester*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loss of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of *Arundel* Castle. He was exceedingly reviv'd with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute Command of the Troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offer'd to keep him Company in all Expeditions, and to give him the best Assistance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compell'd to be contented with; nor could there be a greater union and consent between two Friends: The General being ready to give his Advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving Orders accordingly.

AS SOON as they were inform'd that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and meant to march towards them, they chearfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Winchester* and *Farnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, chose the ground upon which they meant the Battle should be Fought; of which *Waller*, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horse. The King's Army consisted of about five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; and *Waller* with *Sr William Balfour*, exceeded in Horse; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horse and Foot were, as they were always, much better Arm'd; no Man wanting any Weapon Offensive, or Defensive, that was proper for him; and *Sr Arthur Haslerig's* Regiment of Cuirassiers, call'd the *Lobsters*, were so formidable, that the King's naked and unarm'd Troops, among which few were better arm'd than with Swords, could not bear their impression.

The Battle at
Alresford;
where Sr W.
Waller had
the advan-
tage over the
L. Hopton.

THE King's Horse never behaved themselves so ill, as that day. For the main Body of them, after they had sustained one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance; and left their principal Officers to shift for themselves. The Foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better

better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilst those Horse which stood upon the Field, and should have assisted them, could be perswaded but to stand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none, that Night to *Reading*: the Enemy being so scatter'd, that they had no mind to pursue; only *Waller* himself made hast to *Winchester*, where he thought, upon this Success, to have been immediately admitted into that Castle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so return'd with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the Insolence and Rapine imaginable.

THERE could not then be any other estimate made of the loss *Waller* sustain'd, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and return'd to their Habitations; with great Lamentation of their Friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides Common Men, and many good Officers; there fell that day the Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horse of that Army; and *Sr John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carlington*, and Commissary General of the Horse. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horse that stay'd with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Abingdon*, that they might be nearer to the Assistance of the best remedies by Physicians and Surgeons. But they liv'd only to the second dressing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

THE former was a young Man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of Age; who being of a more choleric and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that Illustrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the Court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of Arms, when he did not think the Scene should have been in his own Country. His Courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-liv'd it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, *Sr John Smith*, had been train'd up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman Catholick Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse. As soon as the first Troubles appear'd in *Scotland*, he betook himself

himself to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, perform'd many signal Actions of Courage. The death of these two eminent Officers, made the Names of many who perish'd that day, the less inquired into and mention'd.

THIS Battle was Fought the 20th day of *March*: which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and alter'd the whole scheme of the King's Counsels: For whereas before, he hoped to have enter'd the Field early, and to have acted an Offensive part; he now discern'd, he was wholly to be upon the Defensive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only depriv'd of the Men he had lost at *Alresford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with Prince *Rupert*; who, he believ'd, would have return'd in time, after his great Success at *Newark*, with a strong Body both of Horse and Foot, from *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and North *Wales*: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the Prince had scarce put the Garrison of *Newark* in order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his Highness's departure (though indeed the shame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and subdued, broke and dissolv'd that whole Body within few days) when he was earnestly press'd from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Lancashire* to relieve him, who was already Besieged in his own strong House at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promises; "that within so many days after the Siege should be raised, with any defeat to the Enemy, he would advance his Highness's Levies with two thousand Men, and supply him with a considerable Sum of Money. And the Earl had likewise, by an Express, made the same instance to the King at *Oxford*; from whence his Majesty sent his Permission, and Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from *Newark*; hoping still that his Highness would be able to dispatch that Service in *Lancashire*, and with the more notable recruits of Men in those parts, be able to return to *Oxford* by the time that it would be necessary for his Majesty to take the Field. But within a short time, he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finish his Expedition into *Lancashire* (which he did with wonderful Gallantry; raised the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garrisons obstinately defended; and

*Notwithstanding this
the King's Affairs had
a happy Progress till
8th of Nov. 1644. &
particular Act of War
drawn up by the King
Order by 5th Edward local
her & at that time
Secretary of the Coun-
cil of War & conserved
in many places with
of King on Hand
is & printed in 5th Edw
Historical Dictionary
Vol. 1705. from p. 5 to 121.

and therefore with the greater Slaughter) the Marquis of *New-Castle* was compell'd to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of *York*. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous Army of the *Scots*, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them; but he found he had a worse Enemy to deal with, as will appear.

FROM the time that the Ruling Party of the Parliament discern'd that their General, the Earl of *Essex*, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolv'd to have another Army apart, that should be more at their devotion; in the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such Officers, as would probably not only observe their Orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were so many disaffected Persons of the Nobility, and Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it; there might a Body start up there for the King; which, upon the success of the Marquis of *New-Castle*, whose Armes then reached into *Lincoln-shire*, might grow very formidable. For prevention whereof, they had formed an Association between *Essex* (a County, upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the power of his Clergy, they most confided in) *Cambridge-shire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington*; in all which they had many Persons of whose entire Affections they were well assured; and, in most of them, there were few considerable Persons who wished them ill. Of this Association they had made the Earl of *Manchester* General, to be subject only to their own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of *Essex*. Under Him, they chose *Oliver Cromwell* to Command their Horse; and many other Officers, who never intended to be subject again to the King, and avow'd other Principles in Conscience and Religion, than had been before publicly declared.

To this General they gave Order, "to reside within that Association; and to make Levies of Men, sufficient to keep those Counties in Obedience: for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret Treaty made by *Sr Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they were bound, as soon as the *Scots* should enter into *York-shire* with their Army, that a Body of *English* Horse, Foot, and Cannon, should be ready to assist them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body apart: The *Scots* not then trusting their own great Numbers, as equal to Fight with the *English*. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Essex*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* first entrance into *York-shire*, the Earl of

The Earl of Manchester had likewise Order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the most part, a Committee of the Parliament, whereof *Sr Harry Vane* was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scottish* Parliament always in that Army; there being also now a Committee of both Kingdoms residing at *London*, for the carrying on the War.

THE Marquis of *New-Castle* being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with some Troops of Horse; and sent the Body of his Horse, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infect the Enemy. Then he sent an Express to the King, to inform him of the Condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that Post, for the term of six Weeks, or two Months; in which time, he hoped, his Majesty would find some way to Relieve him. Upon receipt of this Letter, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that "as soon as he had Reliev'd the Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and refresh'd his Men, he should march, with what Expedition he could, to Relieve *York*; where being joyn'd with the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, there was hope they might Fight the Enemy: and his Majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the Field, without expecting the Prince.

The Queen
retires from
Oxford to
Exeter.

ALL these ill Accidents falling out successively in the Winter, the King's Condition appear'd very sad; and the Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majesty's mind very much; and dispos'd her to so many Fears and Apprehensions of her Safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great Forces rais'd, and "in a readiness, by the Parliament, much greater than they "yet ever had been; which was very true; and "that they "resolv'd, as soon as the Season was ripe, to march all to *Oxford*. She could not endure to think of being Besieged; and, in conclusion, resolv'd not to stay there, but to go into the West; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to Embark for *France*. Though there seem'd reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his Majesty heartily wish'd that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improv'd by her indisposition of Health, that all Civility and Reason oblig'd every Body to submit. So, about the beginning of *April*, she begun her Journey from *Oxford* to the West; and, by moderate Journeys, came well to *Buster*; where she intended to stay, till she was deliver'd; for she was within little more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place out

out of the reach of any Alarm, she recover'd her Spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of *April*, when it concern'd the King with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast Numbers of Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his Majesty to do, in those Exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The Intelligence, that *Waller* was still design'd for the Western Expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the Body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand Foot, and above four thousand Horse. There that Body remain'd for some weeks, to watch, and intend *Waller's* Motion, and to Fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting *Reading*, and some other Garrisons, propos'd, for the encreasing the Field Forces: yet nothing was positively resolv'd, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament Armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the King return'd to *Oxford*, where, upon the desire of the Members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several Counties, satisfy the People of the King's importunate desire of Peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majesty's Assistance. They were to meet there again in the Month of *October* following. *48 day*

THEN, that his Majesty might draw most of the Soldiers of that Garrison with him out of *Oxford*, when he should take the Field, that City was perswaded to compleat the Regiment they had begun to form, under the Command of a Colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which they did raise to the Number of a thousand Men. There were likewise two other Regiments raised of Gentlemen and their Servants, and of the Scholars of the several Colleges and Halls of the University; all which Regiments did Duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the Field, till he return'd again to *Oxford*; and all the Lords declared, "that upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their "Servants upon their Horses, to make a good Troop for a "sudden Service; which they made good; and thereby, that Summer, perform'd two or three very considerable and important Actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the Intelligence

The Parliament as Oxford Pro-regard so October. 48 day
Dr. King's speech made in his beginning of the 16th of October 1642
Dr. Walker's History of the course of the 17th of October
Dr. Kelle p. 9.

ligence that could be procured, and by the change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aside his Western March; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both His, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any Action till they should be both complete in greater Numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's Army remov'd from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*; where they remain'd near a Month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to assist the Garrisons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

THERE had been several deliberations in the Council of War, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the Garrisons when the King should take the Field; and the King himself was irresolute upon those Debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had return'd Answers, and receiv'd Replies, made a hasty journey to *Oxford* from *Chester*, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolv'd, "that the Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, should be reinforced, and strengthen'd with all the Foot; that a good Body of Horse should remain about *Oxford*, and the rest should be sent in the West to Prince *Maurice*. If this Counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Success: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege against any place so well provided, and resolv'd; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have march'd to any distance, and have left such an Enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

BUT as it was even impossible to have administer'd such advice to the King, in the streight he was in, which being pursued might not have prov'd inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those Councils, that resolutions, taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter Debates, and upon objections which had been answer'd before: Some Men being in their Natures irresolute, and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be alter'd from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the Affairs. And the King himself frequently consider'd

consider'd more the Person who spoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Counsel it self that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgement than he ought to have done; which rarely deceiv'd him so much as that of other Men.

THE Persons with whom he only consulted in his Martial The Persons with whom the King consulted in his Military Affairs at this time. Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (besides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time absent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horse; the Lord *Hopson*, who usually Commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now present; *Sr Jacob Astley*, who was Major General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State; and *Sr John Colepepper* Master of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, those two only excepted, were called to those Consultations; though some of them were still advis'd with, for the better Execution, or Prosecution, of what was then and there resolv'd.

THE General, though he had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was still a Man of unquestionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Compliance, and usually deliver'd that as His opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

WILMOT was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleasant Wit, and an ill Understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he consider'd that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any Consideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averse to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Success of the War) should entirely be govern'd and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other Counsellors should have any Credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince *Rupert* was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Personal Animosity against him, made any thing that *Wilmot* said or propos'd, enough slighted and contradicted: and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his Person, or esteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's absence, and

and his being the second Man in the Army, and the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and look'd upon himself as one whose advice ought to be follow'd, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good Fellowship (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himself so popular with all the Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, that he had, in truth, a very great Interest; which he desired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Interest in Him. He was positive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most Contradicted by the two Privy Counsellors, the Secretary, and the Master of the Rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest Influence upon the King, he used all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them, what they had said in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the Times of Jollity, perswaded the old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Business of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

THE Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhor'd enough the licence, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good Understanding, a clear Courage, an Industry not to be tired, and a Generosity that was not to be exhausted; a Virtue that none of the rest had: but in the Debates concerning the War, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolv'd, than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which render'd him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

St *Jacob Astley* was an honest, brave, plain Man, and as fit for the Office he exercised, of Major General of the Foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteem'd; very discerning and prompt in giving Orders, as the occasions required, and most chearful, and present in any Action. In Council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleased with the long Speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than inform'd his Understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himself to Do, than enlarged them by his own Discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

THE two Privy Counsellors, though they were of the most different Natures and Constitutions that can be imagined,
always

always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's Judgement to like what they approv'd: yet one of them, who had in those Cases the Ascendant over the other, had that Excess of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the Resolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggestions of other Men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused Orders to be alter'd, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniences.

THIS unsteadiness in Counsels, and in matters resolv'd upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garrisons, to be little consider'd. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their Muster near *Marlborough*, when the King was present. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were march'd out of *London*; That under *Essex* to *Windser*; and That of *Waller*, to the parts between *Hertford-Bridge*, and *Basing*, without any purpose of going farther West; the King's Army march'd to *Reading*; and in three days, his Majesty being present, they slighted and demolish'd all the works of that Garrison: And then, which was about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of those Soldiers, which encreased the Army five and twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officer'd, the Army retired to the Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to Fight with one of the Enemy's Armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

THE King return'd to *Oxford*, and resolv'd to stay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the Conjunction with the *Scottish* Commissioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little business was brought to be Consulted in either of the Houses; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Trust, but they whose Affections were known to concur to the most desperate Counsels. So that the Designs were still entirely form'd, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Essex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was necessary for the present Execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The Intention was, "that the two Armies, which march'd out together, should afterward be distinct; and should only keep together, till it appear'd what Course the King meant to take; and if he stayed in *Oxford*, it would be fit for both to be in the Siege; the Circumvallation being

“very great, and to be divided in many places by the River ;
 “which would keep both Armies still asunder under their several Officers. But, if the King march’d out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, “that the Earl of *Essex* should follow the King, wherever he “went ; which, they imagined, would be Northward ; “and “that *Waller* should march into the West, and subdue That. So that, having so substantially provided for the North, by the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Manchester* ; and having an Army under the Earl of *Essex*, much Superior in Number to any the King could be attended with ; and the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the West ; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an End of the War that Summer.

It was about the tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Essex* and *St William Waller* march’d out of *London*, with both their Armies ; and the very next day after the King’s Army had quitted *Reading*, the Earl of *Essex*, from *Windsor*, sent Forces to possess it ; and recommended it to the City of *London*, to provide both Men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it ; which the Memory of what they had suffer’d for the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Opportunity to joyn with *Waller’s* Army when he should think fit ; which before they could not do with Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after joyn in one Body, but kept at a fit Distance, to be able, if there were Occasion, to help each other.

THE Earl of *Essex’s* Army consisted of all his old Troops, which had Winter’d about *St Albans*, and in *Bedfordshire* ; and being now encreased with four Regiments of the Trainbands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to less than ten thousand Horse and Foot. *Waller* had likewise receiv’d a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Sussex* ; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Essex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King’s Army retired from *Reading*, the Horse Quarter’d about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Resolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it ; that is, if they came upon the East side, where, besides some indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it ; if they came on the West side from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much Superior in Number ; and, in that Case, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

BEING satisfied with this Resolution, they lay in that quiet Posture, without making the least Impression upon the Enemy,
 I
 by

by beating up his Quarters ; which might easily have been done ; or restraining them from making Incurſions where they had a mind ; all which was imputed to the ill Humour, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Effex* advanced with his Army towards *Abingdon* ; and upon the Eaſt part of the Town ; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their Defending it. But they were no ſooner advertiſed of it, but the General, early the next Morning, march'd with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horſe being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat : and all this was done before his Maſteſty had the leaſt notice, or ſuſpicion of it. As ſoon as his Maſteſty was inform'd of it by *St Charles Blunt*, the Scout Maſter General, whom the General had ſent to acquaint the King with the reſolution, he ſent *St Charles Blunt* back to the General, to let him know the great diſlike he had of their purpoſe to quit the Town, and to command him to ſtay, and not to advance till his Maſteſty came to him ; which he made all poſſible haſt to do. But before the Meſſenger could return, the Army was within fight of *Oxford* ; and ſo the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horſe Quarter'd in the Villages about the Town.

Abingdon
quitted by
the King's
Force.

ABINGDON was in this manner, and to the King's infinite Trouble, quitted ; whither a Party of *Effex's* Army came the ſame Night ; and the next day, himſelf with all his Foot enter'd the Town ; his Horſe being Quarter'd about it. He then called *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might reſolve in what manner to proceed ; and he had his head Quarter at *Wantage* : and ſo, without the ſtriking one Blow, they got the Poſſeſſion of *Reading*, *Abingdon* ; and were Maſters of all *Berkſhire* ; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horſe and Foot on the North ſide of *Oxford* ; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to conſider, how to keep *Oxford* it ſelf from being Beſieged, and the King from being incloſed in it.

Poſſeſſ'd by
the Earl of
Effex.

THIS was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May* ; inſomuch that it was generally reported at *London*, " that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Priſoner ; and others more Conſidently gave it out, " that his Maſteſty reſolv'd to come to *London* : of which the Parliament was not without ſome Apprehenſion, though not ſo much, as of the King's putting himſelf into the hands of the Earl of *Effex*, and into his Protection ; which They could not endure to think of ; and this troubled them ſo much, that the Committee of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to the General.

My Lord.

"WE are credibly informed, that his Majesty intends to come for *London*. We desire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform your self of the same; and if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come to the Armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give Direction.

It is very probable that in his march the Prince called of if son of Stafford here he shew'd very great severity in robbing a church & weathered it is declared by D. H. in his Hist. of Staffordshire Ch. IX. sect. 9.

So much Jealousy they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable Expectation of Encrease, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the West; Prince Rupert being then in his march into *Lancashire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (besieged in his Castle of *Latham*) and Prince *Maurice* being still engaged in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorset-shire*, a little Fishers Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Brissol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City; where he yet knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himself resolv'd to stay at *Oxford*, till he saw how the two Armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently joyn, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two Armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confusion, and Distraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from passing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwel*, or *Isis*, which run on the East and West sides of the City; the Foot being, for the most part, Quarter'd towards the *Cherwel*, and the Horse, with some Dragoons, near the *Isis*.

In this posture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the space of a day; which somewhat compos'd the minds of those within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recover'd their dislike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being so streighten'd in their Quarters. Some of *Waller's* Forces attempted to pass the *Isis* at *Newbridge*, but were repuls'd by the King's Dragoons. But the next day *Essex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Sansford-Ferry*, and march'd to *Isleip*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon *Bullington-Green*, that the City might take a full view of his Army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small Party

Party of Horse, came within Cannon shot; and little Parties of Horse came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmishes with some of the King's Horse, without any great hurt on either side.

THE next Morning, a strong Party of the Earl's Army endeavour'd to pass over the *Oberwel*, at *Gosworth* Bridge; but were repulsed by the Musqueteers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with his whole Army, on the East side of the River *Oberwel*, whereby he was disabled to give, or receive any speedy Assistance to, or from *Waller*; the King resolv'd to attempt the repossessioning himself of *Abingdon*, and to take the opportunity to Fight with *Waller* singly, before he could be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Passes, and marched through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of signal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold Enterprize, advanced, with a Party of one hundred and fifty Horse, to the Town it self; where there were a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse of *Waller's* Army; and enter'd the same, and killed many, and took some Prisoners: but upon the Alarm, he was so overpowered, that his Prisoners escaped, though he killed the Chief Commander, and made his Retreat good, with the loss only of two Officers, and as many Common Soldiers; and so, both the attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the design of Fighting *Waller* laid aside; and the Army return'd again to their old Post, on the North side of *Oxford*.

Sr *Jacob Ashley* undertook the Command himself at *Gosworth* Bridge, where he perceiv'd the Earl intended to force his Passage; and presently cast up Breast-works, and made a Redoubt for the defence of his Men, and Repulsed the Enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renew'd their Assault two or three days together, and planted Cannon to facilitate their Passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many Men in the Attempt. On the other side, *Waller's* Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge so well defended; but overpowering those Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Passage over the River *Isis*: by which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

IT is now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand Horse and Foot, by *Nembridge*: the Van whereof Quarter'd at *Emsay*, and, the King's Foot being drawn

off from *Gosworth Bridge*, *Essex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cheerwel*; and Quarter'd that Night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horse advancing to *Woodstock*; so that the King seem'd to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own People, his Condition seem'd so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most Secret Affairs, and whose Fidelity was never suspected, propos'd to him to render himself, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Essex*; which his Majesty reject'd with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the Name of the Proposer; and said, "that possibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, but he would be dead first. Word was given, "for "all the Horse to be together, at such an hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, march'd through the Town towards *Abingdon*; by which, it was concluded, that both Armies would be amused, and *Waller* induc'd to draw back over *Newbridge*: and, as soon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Cannon, return'd to their old Post on the North side.

THE King resolv'd, for the encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the Persons of Quality who were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *York* there; and promis'd, if they should be Besieg'd, "to do all he could to Relieve "them, before they should be reduced to Extremity. He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice "Musketeers should be drawn out of the whole Foot, under the Command of *St Jacob Astley*, and four experienced "Colonels; all which should, without Colours, repair to the "place where the Horse attended to receive Orders, and that "the rest of the Foot should remain together on the North "side, and so be applied to the defence of *Oxford*, if it should "be Besieg'd.

ALL things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince, and those Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, march'd out of the North Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horse, and Commanded Foot, wait'd to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, march'd between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, some Miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King rest'd not till the Afternoon, when he found himself at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: so that he was content to refresh his Men there; and supp'd himself; yet was not with-
out

out Apprehension that he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemies Horse; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotswold*, and by Mid-night reached *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied Troops, more rest and refreshment.

THE Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot marched again through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Abingdon*, to continue that Amusement which the day before had prevailed with *Waller*, to send many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance; and likewise, that Quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Essex* had that Morning, from *Blechingdon*, sent some Horse to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the Colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was still there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majesty's Motion, and sent a good Body of Horse to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up: and his Horse made such hast, that they found in *Burford* some of the straggling Soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of Drink, had stay'd behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Essex* follow'd likewise with his Army, and Quarter'd at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller's* Horse were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reached *Evesham*; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his Garrison at *Trunksbury* had been, the Night before, surpris'd by a strong Party from *Glocester*; the Chief Officers being killed, and the rest taken Prisoners; most of the Common Soldiers making their escape, and coming to *Evesham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies follow'd by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or some other place, and so get between the King and *Worcester*, his Majesty changed his purpose of staying at *Evesham*, and presently marched to *Worcester*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parshore*; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the Troops were pass'd, that, by the suddain falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horse, and about twenty Common Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drown'd.

THE Earl of *Essex*, when he saw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, resolv'd to pursue him no farther, but to Consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose called a Council of all the prin-

The Earl of Essex marches towards the West:

cipal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was resolv'd, "that *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance, and the less Carriages, should have such an addition of Forces, as *Massey*, the Governour of *Glocester*, should be able to furnish him with; and so should pursue and follow the King, wheresoever he should go; and that the Earl of *Essex*, who had the greater Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, should prosecute the other Design of Relieving *Lyme*, and reducing the West to the Obedience of the Parliament.

WALLER oppos'd this resolution all he could; and urg'd some Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, "that the West was assign'd to him, as his Province, when the two Armies should think fit to sever from each other. However, *Essex* gave him positive Orders, as his General, "to march according to the Advice of the Council of War; which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at *Westminster*, were so incens'd against the Earl of *Essex*, that they writ a very angry, and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproach'd him, "for not submitting to the Directions which they had given; and required him "to follow their former Directions, and to suffer *Waller* to attend the Service of the West. Which Letter was brought to him before he had march'd above two days Westward. But the Earl chose rather to Answer their Letter, than to Obey their Order; and writ to them, "that their Directions had been contrary to the Discipline of War, and to Reason; and that, if he should now return, it would be a great encouragement to the Enemy in all places; and Subscribed his Letter, "Your Innocent, though suspected Servant, *Essex*; and then prosecuted his Resolution, and continued his march for the West.

Waller towards Worcester, after the King.

WHEN *Waller* found there was no remedy, he Obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour; and prosecuted his march towards *Worcester*, where his Majesty then was; and, in his way, perswaded, rather than forced, the Garrison of *Sudely* Castle, the strong House of the Lord *Chandos*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Castle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two years serv'd the King very bravely in the Head of a Regiment of Horse, which himself had rais'd at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the Fatigue, and having spent most of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place;

place; which he enjoy'd, without considering the Issue of the War, or shewing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree contribute to the delivery of his House; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the Government of *Sr William Morison*, a Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, cast off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profession of the Law did, and serv'd as Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment of Horse under the Lord *Chandon*; and had given so frequent Testimony of signal Courage in several Actions, in which he had receiv'd many wounds, both by the Pistol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never suspected; and his Fidelity as little question'd: And after many years of Imprisonment, sustained with great Firmness and Constancy, he liv'd to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King; who made him first a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by Robbing on the High-way. He was unfortunate, though without Fault, in the giving up that Castle in so unseasonable a Conjunction; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governour made Prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition marched to *Evesham*; where the evil Inhabitants receiv'd him willingly; and had, as soon as the King left them, repair'd their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

THE King rested some days at *Worcester*, whereby he very much refreshed his Troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that Country, who retired thither for their Security, he procured both Shoes and Stockings, and Money for his Soldiers: and when, upon good Information, *Waller* was marched out of *Evesham* with his whole Army towards *Worcester*, which he would probably Besiege, the King resolv'd not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majesty removed with his little Army to *Bredley*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quarter'd together at *Bredley*, and the Horse by the side of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The posture

posture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majesty intended his Course to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern Parts. And it is true, that, without any such Resolution, Orders were sent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garrisons, "that they should make all possible Provisions of Corn, and other Victual; which they should cause, in great quantities, to be brought thither; which confirm'd *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Design, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propose reasonably to Fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which *Waller* conceiv'd him inclin'd to; and his Majesty might well assume the Complaint, and Expression of King *David*, "that he *was hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains*; and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

IN this Perplexity, it looked like the Bounty of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced so far: upon which, the King took a sudden Resolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worcester*, and to make hast to *Evesham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to joyn with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to prosecute any other Design. Upon this good Resolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth*, and *Worcester*, that the Foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. In-somuch, that the next day, being Embarked early in the Morning, the Foot arriv'd so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have marched that Night to *Evesham*, but that many of the Horse, which were Quarter'd beyond *Bewdley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*; which they did accordingly.

THE next Morning, the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former Resolution; and receiv'd good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any thing of his motion, remain'd still in his old Quarters; whereupon he march'd very fast to *Evesham*; nor would he stay there; but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred

hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller*; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and perform'd. Then the Army marched that Night to *Broadway*, where they Quarter'd; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Camden*; and there they had time to breath, and to look with pleasure on the places where they had pass'd through; having now left *Waller*, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that Season of the year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King sent Colonel *Fielding*, and lest he might miscarry (for both from *Glocester*, *Trarhesbury*, and *Sudely* Castle, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Messengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know "of his happy Return; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*; and the next, at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their Colours and Cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that, on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June*, which was within seventeen days after he had left *Oxford* in that disconsolate Condition, the King found himself in the head of his Army, from which he had been so sever'd, after so many Accidents and melancholick Perplexities, to which Majesty had been seldom expos'd. Nor can all the circumstances of that Peregrination be too particularly, and punctually set down. For as they administer'd much delight after they were pass'd, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to Posterity, to see the most exact Relation of an Action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide *Waller*, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline Fighting with his Majesty.

In the short time the King had been absent, the Garrison at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garrison at *Reading*, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser Garrisons, at a less distance from *Oxford*; and thereupon the Garrison at *Bosnal House*, reputed a strong place, upon the Edge of *Oxford-shire* and *Buckingham-shire*, was appointed to demolish the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and joyn with the Army: which was no sooner done,

done, but the Garrison at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the others ill Neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a Garrison into it; which, after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Essex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that City, and obstructed the Provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great Complaints and Clamour from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuse for their not complying with the Commands they sent out, for Labourers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King, that there seem'd for the present no reasonable apprehension of being Besieged, the Lords consider'd of a Remedy to apply to this Evil from *Bosfel House*; and receiving encouragement from Colonel *Gage* (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large) who offer'd to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of Commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horse of the Town, to obey his Orders, who, by the break of day, appear'd before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the Church, and the Out-Houses, and then batter'd the House it self with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but desired a Parley. Upon which the House was render'd, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horse and Man; and had Liberty given them to go away with their Armes, and Horses; very easy Conditions for so strong a Post; which was obtain'd with the loss of one inferior Officer, and two or three Common Men. Here the Colonel left a Garrison, that did not only defend *Oxford* from those mischievous Incurfions, but did very near support it self, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckinghamshire*, besides the Prey it frequently took from the very Neighbourhood of *Aylesbury*.

THE Earl of *Essex*, by slow and easy Marches, and without any Opposition or Trouble, enter'd into *Dorsetshire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Discipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Insomuch that his Forces rather encreased, than diminish'd; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much lessen'd, not only by the Numbers which were kill'd and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp Encounters continued at *Gosworb Bridge*. It can hardly
be

be imagin'd, how great a Difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the Army under *Effex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, consequently, in the Reception they found among them; the demeanour, and carriage of those under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the People, in all places, were not without some Affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always universally popular.

WHEN he came to *Blandford*, he had a great mind to make himself Master of *Weymouth*, if he could compass it without engaging his Army before it; which he resolv'd Not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel *Alburnham*, then Governour of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage, and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, *Sr Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been, the Year before, removed from that Charge; and was thereby so much disoblinded, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave himself up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the Parliament, with an implacable Animosity against the Royal Interest. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the Fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an Army, yet too strong to be deliver'd upon the Approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the Governour afterwards press'd to have the whole examin'd before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince *Maurice*, "that, the Town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the Earl of *Effex*, put a sufficient strength into *Portland-Castle*, and retire thither; which he had done; and was, by the Council of War, absolv'd from any Crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolv'd, he lost Reputation by it; and was thought to have left the Town too soon, though he meant to have return'd again, after he had visited *Portland*. But in the mean time the Towns-
men mutiny'd, and sent to the Earl of *Effex* when he was
near the Town; whereupon he came thither; which he
would not otherwise have done; and gave the Garrison leave
to march with their Armes to Prince *Maurice*; and so became
Master of *Weymouth*; and leaving Men enough out of the
Country to defend it, without any delay, he prosecuted his
march to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news
of the loss of *Weymouth*, had retired with hast enough towards
Exeter, with a Body of full five and twenty hundred Foot,
and eighteen hundred Horse; after he had put a Garrison of
five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with some loss of Re-
putation,

Weymouth
deliver'd to
the Earl of
Effex.

Lyme re-
liev'd by
him.

putation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

AS SOON as the King had joyn'd his Army at *Whitney*, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred Foot, and very near four thousand Horse, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he resolv'd no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much wasted by Friends and Enemies; but to visit the Enemy's Country; and so, the next day, he march'd towards *Buckingham*, where he would stay, and expect *Waller* (of whose motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appear'd not, his Majesty might enter into the Associated Counties, and so proceed Northward, if, upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the King staid at *Buckingham*, and thought himself now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in store of Provisions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from *London* to *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very welcome to *Buckingham*) a new, and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill humour, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued still fullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an Animosity against the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, that he perswaded many Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, where he was most entirely obey'd, to joyn in a Petition to the King, "that those two Counsellors might be excluded, and be no more present in Councils of War; which they promised to do.

WALLER remain'd still in *Worcester-shire*; upon which it was again Consulted, what the King was to do. Some propos'd "the marching presently into the Associated Counties; others, "to lose no time in endeavouring to joyn with Prince *Rupert*. *Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advis'd, "that they might presently march "towards *London*, and now both their Generals, and Armies "were far from them, make tryal what the true affection of "the City was; and that, when the Army was march'd as far "as *St Albans*, the King should send such a gracious Message "both to the Parliament, and City, as was most like to prevail upon them; and concluded, as if he knew "that this "way of proceeding would be very much approv'd of by the "Army. This extravagant motion, with all the Circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wish'd them, "that such a Message should be prepared, and
"then

“ then that he would Communicate both that, and what concern’d his march towards *London*, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; that in so weighty an Affair he might receive Their Counsel. To that purpose the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to *Oxford*; who, after two days, return’d without any Approbation of the march, or the Message by the Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of it self, upon the sure Intelligence, “ that *Waller* had left *Worcester-shire*, and marched, with what speed he could, to find his Majesty; which gave new Argument of Debate.

WHEN the King had so dextrously deceiv’d, and eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worcester*, *Waller*, who had not timely Information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his Army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shew’d it at the Walls of *Worcester*, to terrify that City, which had contemn’d his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discern’d he could do no good there: then he marched towards *Glocester*, having sent to Colonel *Massey* to send him some Men out of *Glocester*; which he, being a Creature of *Essex*’s, refused to do. Upon this Denial, he marched into *Warwick-shire*; and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field, the place where the first Battle was fought. There he receiv’d an addition of seven Troops of Horse, and about six hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Coventry*, with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit he marched confidently towards the King; of which his Majesty being inform’d, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his Army to *Brackley*, when *Waller* was near *Banbury*; and the Armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sunshine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning, both endeavour’d to possess a piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King passing his whole Army through the Town of *Banbury*, before it could come to it, *Waller* had first his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King could reach thither: so that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile East of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwell* being between the two Armies.

THE King resolv’d to make *Waller* draw off from that Advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter further into *Northampton-shire*: and he no sooner moved, but *Waller* likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the River, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The Van of the King’s Army was led by the General, and *Winnet*: in the Body was the King,

*The fight at
Cropredy-
Bridge.*

King, and the Prince, and the Rear consisted of one thousand commanded Foot, under Colonel *Thetwell*, with the Earl of *Northampton's* and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigades of Horse. And, that the Enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a Party of Dragoons was sent to keep *Croopedy-Bridge*, until the Army was passed beyond it. The Army marching in this order, Intelligence was brought to the King, "that there was a Body of three hundred Horse, within less than two miles of the Van of the Army, that marched to joyn with *Waller*; and that they might be easily cut off, if the Army mended their pace. Whereupon, Orders were sent to the foremost Horse, "that they should move faster, the Van and the Middle having the same Directions, without any notice given to the Rear. *Waller* quickly discern'd the great distance that was suddainly grown between the King's Body and his Rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred Horse, one thousand Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Croopedy-Bridge*, which were quickly too strong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Resistance: so that this Party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their Design of cutting off the King's Rear, before they should be able to get up to the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution, he had sent one thousand Horse more, to pass over at a Ford a mile below *Croopedy-Bridge*, and to fall upon the Rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Division, and "of the Enemy's having passed at *Croopedy* (which was confirm'd by the running of the Horse, and Scatter'd Foot) "and that there stood two Bodies of Horse without moving, "and faced the Army: Thereupon the Earl presently drew up his Brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discern'd a great Body of the Rebels Horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit, Charged presently that Body with great fury, which sustain'd it not with equal Courage; losing a Cornet, and many Prisoners.

THIS Alarm had quickly reached the King, who sent to the Van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he saw the Enemy preparing for a second Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King Commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a Valiant young Gentleman, who Commanded his own Guards, "to make "hast to the Assistance of the Rear; and, in his way, to "Charge those two Bodies of Horse which faced his Majesty. He, with above a hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, return'd instantly over the Bridge, and made hast towards those

those two Bodies of Horse; who, seeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution: But the presence of this Troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat, that quickly ensued.

THE Earl of *Cleveland*, after his short Encounter, made a stand under a great Ash (where the King had but half an hour before stay'd and din'd) not understanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceiv'd a Body of their Horse of sixteen Cornets, and as many Colours of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which He likewise did upon Them with notable Vigour; and having stood their Musquet and Carabine-shot, he Charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horse and Foot, and Chased them with good execution beyond their Cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two Barriadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each seven small Brass and Leather Guns, charg'd with Case shot; most of their Cannoneers were kill'd, and the General of their Ordnance taken Prisoner. This Man, one *Weemes*, a Scots-man, had been as much obliged by the King, as a Man of His Condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made Master Gunner of *England*, with a Pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his Life (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the *English* Nation) and having never done the King the least Service, he took the first opportunity to Disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now preferr'd by them, for his eminent Disloyalty, to be General of the Ordnance in the Army of *St William Waller*; who was very much advis'd by him in all matters of Importance. Besides *Weemes*, there was taken Prisoner *Baker*, Lieutenant Colonel to *St William Waller's* own Regiment, and five or six Lieutenant Colonels, and Captains, of as good Names as were amongst them; with many Lieutenants, Ensigns, and Cornets, Quartermasters; and above one hundred Common Soldiers; many more being slain in the Charge. The Earl pursued them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their Dragoons, which were placed there to make good their Retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And so the Earl having clear'd that side of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having lost, in this notable Action,

two Colonels, *Sr William Boteler*, and *Sr William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raised, and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge, who were both kill'd dead upon the place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common Soldiers.

AT the same time, the Earl of *Northampton* discover'd that Party of the Enemies Horse, which had found a passage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and presently faced about with those Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themselves to Flight, and got over the Pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their Flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never return'd again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, seeing there was no Enemy left on that side, drew up in a large Field opposite to the Bridge; where he stood, whilst the Cannon, on the other side, play'd upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the Army pass'd by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wilsies*. *Waller* instantly quitted *Croopedy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Croopedy* and *Hanwell*, opposite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; the River of *Cheruel*, and some low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

IT was now about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majesty resolv'd to prosecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, since They would not come to Him: and to that purpose, sent two good Parties, to make way for him to pass both at *Croopedy*-Bridge, and the other pass a Mile below; over which the Enemy had so newly pass'd: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To *Croopedy* they sent such strong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they should be press'd, that those sent by the King thither could make no Impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the Night came, and severed them; all Parties being tired with the duty of the Day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a Mile below, after a short Resistance, gain'd it, and a Mill adjoining; where, after they had kill'd some, they took the rest Prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting still that their Fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

HERE the King was prevail'd with to make trial of another

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

501

other Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Prisoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Message were now sent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Armes : and it was very notorious, that Multitudes ran every day from thence. How this Message should be sent, so that it might be effectually deliver'd, was the only Question that remain'd : and it was agreed, "that *Sr Edward Walker* (who was both Garter King at Armes, and Secretary to the Council of War) "should "be sent to publish that his Majesty's Grace. But he wisely desired, "that a Trumpet might be first sent for a Pass ; the barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Armes, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was sent to *Sr William Waller*, to desire "a Safe Conduct "for a Gentleman, who should deliver a gracious Message "from his Majesty. After two hours Consideration, he return'd Answer, "that he had no power to receive any Message of Grace, or Favour from his Majesty, without the "Consent of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, "to whom his Majesty, if he pleased, might make his addresses. And as soon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest Cannon to be made at the King's Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majesty used to be.

WHEN both Armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two Days, they both drew off to a greater Distance from each other ; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appear'd, by *Waller's* still keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, sometimes towards *Northampton*, and sometimes towards *Warwick*, that he was without other Design, than of recruiting his Army ; and that the Defeat of that day at *Croopedy* was much greater, than it then appear'd to be ; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after he had rested and refresh'd his Men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual Duty, besides that the Provisions would not hold longer in the same Quarters, had follow'd *Waller*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have destroy'd that Army without Fighting : for it appear'd afterwards, without it's being pursued, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Croopedy*, *Waller's* Army, that before consist'd of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remain'd not with him half that Number.

BUT the truth is, from the time that the King discover'd

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that mutinous Spirit in the Officers, govern'd by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unsatisfied with the Temper of his own Army, and did not desire a through Engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolv'd never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himself so much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had so streightly encompassed him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly deliver'd of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when she saw the Earl of *Essex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and should be at the same time inform'd, that *Waller* was with another Army in pursuit of himself. His Majesty resolv'd therefore, with all possible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, in hopes that he should be able to fight a Battle with him, before *Waller* should be in a Condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improv'd, by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retired before *Essex*, would be well able, by the North of *Devon-shire*, to meet the King, when he should know that he march'd that way.

His Majesty had no sooner taken this Resolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and sent an Express into the West, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, "to draw what Men he could out of *Monmouth-shire*, and South *Wales*, into *Bristol*; that himself might meet his Majesty "with as many as he could possibly draw out of that Garrison. So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was possible, march'd towards the West over the *Cotswold* to *Cirencester*; and so to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15th day of *July*, and staid there one whole day, to refresh his Army; which stood enough in need of it.

THE King had scarce march'd two days Westward, when he was surpris'd with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Express from *Oxford*, receiv'd intelligence, "that "Prince *Rupert* had not only reliev'd *Tork*, but totally defeated the *Scots*, with many particulars to confirm it (all which was so much believ'd there, that they had made publick Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now receiv'd quite contrary Information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble Actions perform'd by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton*, and all other places

in

The King
marches to-
wards the
West.

in that large County (*Manchester* only excepted) in which the Rebels lost very many, much Blood having been shed, in taking places by Assault, which were too obstinately defended; the Prince had marched out of *Lancashire* with so good Reputation, and had given his Orders so effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincolnshire* with that Body of Horse that belonged to the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, that they happily joyn'd him; and march'd together towards *Tork*, with such Expedition, that the Enemy was so surpris'd, that they found it necessary to raise the Siege in Confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the Town free, drew to the other side, in great Disorder and Consternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *English* resolving to joyn no more with the *Scots*, and They, on the other side, as weary of their Company, and Discipline; so that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had fate still, the Enemies great Army would have moulder'd to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his Highness would take of them.

BUT the dismal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit so much Sobriety of Counsel: One side of the Town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with those in the Town, and all Provision brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without consulting with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, or any of the Officers within the Town, sent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that side where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horse which Charged the *Scots*, so totally Routed and Defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many Miles together, and were knock'd on the head, and taken Prisoners by the Country, and *Lesly* their General fled ten Miles, and was taken Prisoner by a Constable (from whence the News of the Victory was speedily brought to *Newark*, and thence sent by an Express to *Oxford*; and so receiv'd and spread as aforesaid) yet the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, Charged so well, and in such excellent Order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers kill'd, they prevailed over that Body of Horse which oppos'd them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almost the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Foot were cut off.

*An Account
of the Battle
of Marston-
moor.*

THE Marquis himself, and his brave Brother, *Sr Charles*
Covendish

Cavendish (who was a Man of the noblest, and largest mind, though the least, and most inconvenient Body that liv'd) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as Men could do. But it was so late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals return'd into the Town, not enough knowing their own loss, and perform'd very few Compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert's* hasty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Castle's* as hasty departure to the Sea side, and taking Ship, and Transporting himself out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Consequences thereupon, give so ill an Account of any Conduct, or Discretion, in the managery of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so Posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular Relation of it.

THIS may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had still a good Army left, his Horse, by their not having perform'd their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great execution having falln upon the Northern Foot; and the other, having the absolute Commission over the Northern Counties, and very many Considerable places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scots* having been so totally routed (as hath been said before) their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Custody, till most part of the next day was past; and most of the Officers, and Army, having marched, or run above ten Miles Northward, before they had News that they might securely return: And though the Horse under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had wone the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best Officers kill'd, or so maim'd that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not possessed of the Field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the Horse, which had done so little, might do the next day) there might probably many Advantages have appear'd, which were not at

at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

BUT neither of them were Friends to such Deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a Messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolv'd, that Morning, to march away with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left; and the other, "that he would, in that Instant, repair to the Sea-side, "and Transport himself beyond the Seas; both which they immediately perform'd; the Marquis making hast to *Scarborough*, there Embarked in a poor Vessel, and arriv'd at *Hambourgh*: the Prince, with his Army, begun his March the same Morning towards *Chester*. And so *York* was left to the discretion of *St Thomas Glemham*, the Governour thereof, to do with it as He thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more Decency, not to defend it against an Enemy that would require it.

WHEREAS, if Prince *Rupert* had stay'd with the Army he marched away with, at any reasonable Distance, it would have been long before the Jealousies, and Breaches, which were between the *English* and *Scots* Armies, would have been enough compos'd to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; such great quantities of Provision being already brought into the Town: and the *Scots* talk'd of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Montrose* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edenborough* could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the Prince was march'd away without thought of re-
turning, and that the Marquis had Embarked himself, reconciled them so far (and nothing else could) that, after two days, they return'd to the Posts they had before had in the Siege; and so streighten'd the Town, that the Governour, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compell'd to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, *York deli-*
and the Gentry that were in it, and for Himself, and the few *ver'd to the*
Soldiers he had left, as he could propose: And so he march'd *Parliaments*
with all his Troops to *Carlisle*; which he afterwards defended *Forces*.
with very remakable Circumstances of Courage, Industry, and Patience.

THE Times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's Affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of those two great Persons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular Relation of the grounds of their Proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of Excuse to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the

Murder of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he receiv'd when he was upon his March from *Lancashire* towards *York*; in which his Majesty said, "that his Affairs were in so very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highness rais'd the Siege from *York*, "if he had not likewise beaten the *Scottish* Army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what disadvantage soever: and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the Enemy being so much Superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day. But as the King's Letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest Cause of the Misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the Battle, as soon as the Enemy drew off; and without Consulting at all with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and his Officers; who must needs know more of the Enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he saw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the Marquis's Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and assign'd to them; which much indisposed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to joyn in it.

THEN it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the Afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferr'd till next Morning, in which time a full Consultation might have been had, and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the Confusion and Consternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present Engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improv'd by the delay; for the Bitterness and Animosity between the Chief Commanders was such, that a great part of the Army was marched six Miles, when it appear'd, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his resolution was to Fight: the speedy Intelligence whereof prevail'd, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offer'd, it was generally believ'd that the *Scots* would, the next Morning, have continued their March Northward; and the Earl of *Manchester* would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into

into his Associated Counties; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

BUT then of all the rest, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the King's Affairs in those parts. Nor did those Troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's Service, but moulder'd away by degrees, and the Officers, whereof many were Gentlemen of Quality and great Merit, were kill'd upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the Prince had some secret Intimation of the Marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the Town, and Embarking himself for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his Charge, might be without any imagination that the Prince would take such a distracted Government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joynt distemper, with which they were both transported, any Persons of discretion and honour, had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present Resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolv'd so soon, and so soon executed what they resolv'd, that very few had the least suspicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their Conversion attempted.

ALL that can be said for the Marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a Condition and Employment so contrary to his Humour, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustain'd the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and most accomplish'd in those Qualities of Horsemanship, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Musick, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoy'd in a full and ample Fortune, but Honour and Ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandon'd by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him.

him. He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness, and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown; and Religion, as it cherish'd, and maintain'd that Order and Obedience that was necessary to Both; without any other passion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into Parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the Publick Peace.

HE had a particular Reverence for the Person of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honour to be trusted with his Education as his Governour; for which Office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New Castle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that Town; when till then there was not one Port Town in *England*, that avow'd their Obedience to the King: and he then presently raised such Regiments of Horse and Foot, as were necessary for the present state of Affairs; all which was done purely by his own Interest, and the Concurrence of his numerous Allies in those Northern Parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his Commands, without any charge to the King; which he was not able to supply.

AND after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the Rebels grew so strong in *York-shire*, by the influence their Garrison of *Hull* had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the King presently to make a General, who might unite all those Northern Counties in his Service, he could not choose any Man so fit for it, as the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was not only possess'd of a present Force, and of that important Town, but had a greater Reputation and Interest in *York-shire* it self, than, at that present, any other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that time, though of entire Affection to the King, much decayed in the vigour of his Body, and his Mind, and unfit for that Activity which the Season required. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *New-Castle*, by his quick march with his Troops, as soon as he had receiv'd his Commission to be General, and in the depth of Winter, redeem'd, or rescued the City of *York* from the Rebels, when they look'd upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was Master of it, he raised Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which
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he Fought many Battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) Success and Victory.

He liked the Pomp, and absolute Authority of a General well, and preserv'd the Dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward State, and Circumstances of it, in acts of Courtesy, Affability, Bounty, and Generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could submit to; but refer'd all matters of that Nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant General *King*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great Experience and Ability, yet, being a *Scots*-man, was in that conjuncture, upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in any Battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible Courage and Fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the Day, when his Troops begun to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Musick, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; inasmuch as he sometimes denied admission to the Chiefest Officers of the Army, even to General *King* himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniencies fell out.

FROM the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers mind, that all the business ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore, especially after the Queen had Landed in *Yorkshire*, and staid so long there, he consider'd any Orders he receiv'd from *Oxford*, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of *Hull*, and was sure that he should be then Master entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Associated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty had a purpose to have marched towards *London* on the other side) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his Authority overshadow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whom he desired to be at distance; Yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and saw
no

no way to be reliev'd but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great feats of Armes in the relief of *Newark*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancashire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness, and illimitedness of his Commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the Conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majesty did believe, "that he would never make the least scruple to obey the "Grandchild of King *James*: And assuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service, and Interest.

BUT the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that suddain and unnecessary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserv'd, was in a moment cast away and destroy'd, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious Actions, might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future Action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom, they who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of "Infidelity, Treason, and Conjunction "with his Country men; which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal Discontent, and the miserable Condition to which the People of those Northern Parts were on the suddain reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Course of his Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honour, and had exercised the highest Commands under the King of *Sweden* with extraordinary ability, and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his Country Men with the highest malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

THE loss of *England* came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of *York*, or the too soon deserting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his Fortune, and his chearful submission to all the streights, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from Banishment, without

without the least application to the Usurpers, who were possessed of his whole Estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Wast, in destroying all his Woods of very great Value, and who were still equally abhor'd, and despis'd by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the King's Quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good Men to him, that they rather observ'd, what he had Done, and Suffer'd for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

THIS fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former Resolution, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being inform'd that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first News of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight deliver'd, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwall*; from whence, in a short time, she embark'd for *France* (the *The Queen* Prince of *Orange* having sent some *Dutch* Ships of War, to *retires into* attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Falmouth*; and from *France.* thence her Majesty transported her self) his Majesty march'd more slowly, that he might encrease his Army from *Bristol*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he should engage the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he should be able to return to *London*.

THE Earl of *Essex*'s good Fortune now begun to decline: he had not proceeded with his accustom'd wariness, and skill, but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not disengage himself. When he had march'd to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of Besieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and *Sr William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "disappointment *Sr William Waller* had receiv'd; "and that the King was come with his whole Army into the "West in pursuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, "or any Troops to disquiet or retard his March; which exceedingly surpris'd him, and made him suspect that the Parliament it self had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

THE Jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the Earl

Earl, on the other side, had well observ'd the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament express'd for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of His. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that upon so little a brush as *Waller* had sustain'd, he could not be able to follow, and disturb the King, in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected streight, upon the first reception of the News, he resolv'd to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he enter'd *Devon-shire*, or else in *Somerset-shire*; in either of which places he could not be streighten'd in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this Resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an inflexible Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively oppos'd the return of the Army; but press'd, with His confidence, "that the Army should continue it's March to *Cornwal*"; where he undertook to have so great Interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, would so unite that County to the Parliament's Service, that it would be easy to defend the passes in-
"to the whole County (which are not many) in such a manner, that the King's Army should never be able to enter
"into *Cornwal*, nor to retire out of *Devon-shire* without great
"loss, nor before the Parliament would send more Forces up-
"on their backs.

THE Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Essex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with *St Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and look'd upon as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cornwal*; so he knew not the Situation of the Country: some of the Officers, and some others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Interest) concurr'd fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promised great matters, if the Army march'd thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and comply'd with their advice; and so march'd the direct way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow County; and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces, which easily retired, Westward; until he found himself in streights; where we shall leave him for the present.

The Earl
of Essex
marches into
Cornwal.

AFTER

AFTER the King had made a small stay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been so lately deliver'd, under the Care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeib* (shortly after Countess of *Morton* by the death of her Husband's Father) who had been long before design'd by both their Majesty's to that Charge; and having a little refresh'd, and accommodated his Troops, he marched directly to *Cornwal*; where he found the Earl of *Essex* in such a part ^{The King} of the Country on the Sea side, that he quickly, by the general ^{follows him} influx and Concourse of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been perswaded so much to depend, found means, with very little Fighting, so to streighten his Quarters, that there seem'd little appearance that he could possibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to Fight. He was, upon the matter, inclosed in, and about *Fey*; whilst the King lay encamped about *Liskard*; and no day pass'd without some Skirmishes; in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of his principal Officers taken Prisoners. Here there happen'd an Accident that might very well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and depriv'd him of all the Advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the Army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those Counsellors who were about him; who, being Men of better understandings and better expressions than the Officers, commonly dispos'd his Majesty to Their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was propos'd by the Officers. The Counsellors, as hath been said before, were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and *Sr John Colpepper*, Master of the Rolls, of whose judgement the King had more esteem, even with reference to the War, than of most of the Officers of the Army; which rais'd an implacable animosity in the whole Army against them.

GENERAL *Rutben*, who by this time was Created Earl of *Brentford*, was General of the Army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his Age, and his extreme deafness, was not a Man of Counsel or Words; hardly conceiv'd what was propos'd, and as confusedly and obscurely deliver'd his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and at this time the second Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it, than any Man; which he had not employ'd to the King's advantage, as his Majesty believ'd. He was a Man Proud, and Ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit even

even than his Rival *Goring*, and sway'd more among the good Fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, should have so much credit with the King in Councils of War.

THE King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembring the part he had acted against the Earl of *Strafford*: however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happen'd afterwards, to repose trust in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadow'd in the War; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable Peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in *Buckinghamshire*; and, "that the King ought to send Propositions to the Parliament, in order to obtaining it; and in this March had prosecuted his former design by several Cabals among the Officers; and disposed them to Petition the King, "to send "to the Parliament again an offer of Peace; and that the Lord *Digby*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, might not be permitted to "be present in Councils of War; implying, "that if this "might not be granted, they would think of some other way. Which Petition, though, by the Wisdom of some Officers, it was kept from being deliver'd, yet so provoked the King, that he resolv'd to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the Lord *Digby* ceased not to confirm his Majesty; and as soon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and that the Marquis of *New-Castle* had left the Kingdom, he prevail'd that *Goring* might be sent for to attend his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horse; which *Wilmot* could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always Superior to him in Command; and yet would be such a Mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

WHETHER his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the King time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and rougher remedy: for during the whole March, he discoursed, in all places, "that the King must send to the Earl "of *Essex* to invite him to a Conjunction with him, so that the "Parliament might be obliged to consent to a Peace; and "pretended, that he had so good Intelligence in that Army, "as to know that such an Invitation would prove effectual, "and be acceptable to the Earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with the Parliament's behaviour towards him: and he was so indiscreet, as to desire a Gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Pass to go beyond the Seas,

and must go through the Earl's Quarters, "that he would remember his Service to the Earl of *Essex*; and assure him, "that the Army so much desired Peace, that it should not be "in the Power of any of those Persons about the King to hinder it, if his Lordship would treat upon any reasonable "Propositions. All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented, in their full magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his Majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a form'd distrust. So that after the King came into *Corwall*, and had his whole Army drawn up on the top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Essex*, who was in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon some new discourse *Wilmot* made out of Pride and Vanity (for there was not, in all the former, the least form'd Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight Marshal, with the assistance of *Tom Elkes*, arrested him in the King's Name of High Treason; and dismounted him from his Horse in the head of all the Troops, putting a Guard upon him. He was presently sent Prisoner to *Buster*, without any other ill effect, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteem'd: yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanish'd away.

THE same day that *Wilmot* was arrested, the King remov'd another General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy*; who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Considerations; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*; whose promotion was universally approv'd; the one having no friend, and the other being universally belov'd. Besides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the first that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Intercession; which oblig'd the King to bestow the same honour on more Men) had been as much inclined to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot*; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humour of the Army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unlov'd, as a proud and supercilious Person, yet he had always three or four Persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteem'd by him, with whom he liv'd very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the General scarcity of that time, drew many Votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his Table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on His behalf.

THE very next day after these Removals, Colonel *Goring* appear'd ; who had waited upon the King the night before, at his Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert* : and then the Army being drawn up, his Majesty, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Division of the Horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and upon his resignation, he made Mr *Goring* General of the Horse ; and commanded them all to obey him ; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrain'd him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his Command in the Army ; which Declaration visibly rais'd the countenance of the Body of Horse, more than the King was pleas'd with observing : and the very next day the greatest part of the Officers deliver'd a Petition, "that his Majesty would give them so much light of the Lord *Wilmot's* Crimes, that they might see that Themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his Orders ; which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the Army was in, when they were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily perswaded to give them a Draught of the Articles, by which he was charged : which though they contained so many Indiscretions, Vanities, and Insolencies, that wise and dispassionate Men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seem'd not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be ; and when the Articles were sent to him, he return'd so specious an Answer to them, that made many Men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet *Wilmot* himself, when he saw his old mortal Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication ; and therefore desired leave to retire into *France* ; and had presently a Pass sent him to that purpose ; of which he made use as soon as he receiv'd it ; and so transported himself out of the Kingdom ; which opened the Mouths of many, and made it believ'd, that he had been sacrificed to some Faction and Intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour as deserv'd it.

THE King had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the Earl of *Essex*, from the notorious Indignities which he receiv'd from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself

himself into *France*; and to that purpose had a Pass from his Uncle, the Earl of *Essex*, for himself; Monsieur *Richaute* a French-man, who had been his Governour; and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchsafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him:

"How much it was in his power to restore that Peace to the Kingdom, which he had professed always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for which the Parliament had first taken up Arms: for his Majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends; but that since the Invasion of the Kingdom by the *Scots*, all his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the Kingdom, if he did not, with his Authority and Power, dispose those at *Westminster* to accept of a Peace that might preserve it; with all those Arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his Majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired, that a Pass might be procured for Mr *Harding*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentleman, who had been before of much conversation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Pass was recommended to Monsieur *Richaute*.

THE Earl receiv'd his Nephew very kindly; who deliver'd the King's Letter to him, which he receiv'd, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Monsieur *Richaute*, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the King; the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him? *Richaute* told him, "that his principal business was to desire his Permission and Pass, that Mr *Harding* might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him. The Earl Answer'd in short, "that he would not permit Mr *Harding* to come to him, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no War-rant for it from the Parliament: upon which, *Richaute* enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr *Harding* was to have urged, "of the King's desire of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, as well those at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the same desire of preserving the Kingdom from a Conquest by the *Scots*; and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the King's readiness to give him any security for the performance of all he had promised. To all which the

Earl Answer'd fullenly, "that according to the Commission "he had receiv'd, he would defend the King's Person, and "Posterity ; and that the best Counsel he could give him was, "to go to his Parliament.

AS SOON as the King receiv'd this Account of his Letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those Addressees, he resolv'd to push it on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy as soon as was possible ; and so, the next day, drew up all his Army in sight of the Enemy ; and had many Skirmishes upon the Horse of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they stood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mabyn*, at *Bacon-wicks* ; they having the possession of his House, where they Quarter'd conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well view'd each other, lay in the Field ; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated : for the King's Army was in good heart, and willing to engage ; on the contrary, the Earl's seem'd much surpris'd, and in confusion, to see the other Army so near them. But such censures always attend such Conjunctions, and find fault for what is Not done, as well as with that which is done.

THE next Morning the King called a Council, to consider whether they should that day compel the Enemy to Fight ; which was concluded not to be reasonable ; and that it was better to expect the arrival of *Sr Richard Grenvill* ; who was yet in the West of *Cornwall*, and had a Body of eight thousand Horse and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon order'd, that all the Foot should be presently drawn into the Inclosures between *Bacon-wicks* and the Heath ; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breast-works against the Enemy. The King's head Quarter was made at the Lord *Mabyn*'s House, which the Earl of *Essex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horse were Quarter'd, for the most part, between *Liskard* and the Sea ; and, every day, compell'd the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge close together ; and in this posture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had possessed so many of the Horse Officers, appear'd again ; and some of them, who had conferr'd with the Prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perswaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in *Essex*, in refusing to treat with the King, proceeded only from "his

“his jealousy that when the King had got him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him, for all the mischief he had sustain’d by him; and that, if he had any assurance that what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat.

UPON this excellent Evidence, these Politick Contrivers presum’d to prepare a Letter, that should be subscribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, “that they had obtain’d leave of the King to send that Letter to him. There they proposed, “that He with six Officers, whom he should choose, “would the next Morning meet with their General, and six other Officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and “if he would not himself be present, that then six Officers of the King’s Army should meet with six such as He should appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that “they, and every of them, who subscribed the Letter, would, “upon the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, “with their Lives maintain that whatsoever his Majesty should promise, should be perform’d; and that it should not be in “the power of any Private Person whatsoever, to interrupt “or hinder the execution thereof. When they had framed this Letter between themselves, and shew’d it to many others, whose approbation they receiv’d, they resolv’d to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the Earl of Essex.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this Letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his Majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were perswaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the Officers should sign it; and that the General should send a Trumpet with it; his Majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly Spirit out of his Army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious Addresses, and that it might add some Spirit and Animosity to the Officers and Soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl receiv’d their application: And so Prince Maurice, General Goring, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, sign’d the Letter; which a Trumpet deliver’d to the Earl of Essex; who, the next day, return’d his Answer to them in these words: “My Lords, in “the beginning of your Letter you express by what Authority you send it; I having no Authority from the Parliament,

"who have employ'd me, to treat, cannot give way to it
 "without breach of trust. My Lords, I am your humble Ser-
 "vant, *Essex, Litchfield Aug. 10. 1644.* This short surly An-
 swer, produced the Effect the King wish'd and expected;
 they who had been so over-active in contriving the Address,
 were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole Army seem'd
 well compos'd to obtain that by their Swords, which they
 could not by their Pen.

SIR *Richard Grenvil* was now come up to the Post where
 he should be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March, had fallen upon
 a Party of the Earl's Horse, and kill'd many, and taken others
 Prisoners, and presented himself to the King at *Bocconoch*;
 giving his Majesty an account of his proceedings, and a par-
 ticular of his Forces; which, after all the high discourses,
 amounted really but to eighteen hundred Foot, and six hun-
 dred Horse; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's
 Troop (left behind when her Majesty Embarked for *France*)
 under the Command of Captain *Edward Bret*; who had done
 very good Service in the Western Parts of that County, from
 the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirm'd the
 Train'd-bands of those parts. This Troop was presently added
 to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and
 Captain *Bret* was made Major of that Regiment.

THOUGH the Earl of *Essex* had but streight and narrow
 room for his Quarters for so great an Army of Horse and
 Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend;
 by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of Pro-
 visions, the Parliament Ships having all the jurisdiction there;
 and so, if he preserv'd his Post, which was so situated that he
 could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great
 advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or some
 other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon
 the King's back, as his Majesty was upon His: and no ques-
 tion, this rational Confidence was a great motive to him to
 neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; besides the
 punctuality and stubbornness of his own Nature; which who-
 soever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen,
 what effect all those applications would have produced. It
 was therefore now resolv'd to make his Quarters yet streighter,
 and to cut off even his Provisions by Sea, or a good part
 thereof. To which purpose Sir *Richard Grenvil* drew his Men
 from *Bodmin*, and possessed himself of *Lambethrick*, a strong
 House of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles West of *Bocconoch*,
 and over the River that runs to *Litchfield*, and thence to *Foy*,
 and likewise to *Reprims* Bridge; by which the Enemy was
 not only deprived of that useful out-let, but a safe Communi-
 cation made between him and the King's Army, which was
 before

before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more Importance, *St Jacob Abbey*, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, made himself Master of *View-Hall*, another House of the Lord *Mabon's*, over against *Foy*, and of *Pernon Fort*, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found so tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Commanded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which these two Captains made good, and defended so well, that they made *Foy* utterly useless to *Essex*, save for the Quartering his Men; not suffering any Provisions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wonder'd at by all Men, that he, being so long possess'd of *Foy*, did not put strong Guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his Armie's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the King had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the Earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Escape. In this posture both Armies lay still, without any notable Action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the King seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolv'd to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Essex* to Fight, or to be uneasy even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himself, or some other Forces, were already upon their March towards the West. With this Resolution the whole Army advanced in such a manner, that the Enemy was compell'd still to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called *Beacon-Hill*; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possess'd; and immediately caused a square work to be there rais'd, and a Battery made, upon which some pieces of Cannon were plant-ed, that shot into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when their Cannon, though they return'd twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

AND now the King's Forces had a full prospect over all the others Quarters; saw how all their Foot and Horse were dispos'd, and from whence they receiv'd all their Forage and Provisions; which when clearly view'd and observ'd, *Goring* was sent with the greatest part of the Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Westward to *St Blaso*, to drive the Enemy yet closer together, and cut off the Provisions they receiv'd from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not

only possess themselves of *St. Asaph*, and the Western part of *St. Blass* (so that the Enemies Horse was reduced to that small extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blass*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to *Lisibeth*, and therefore it could not now long supply them) but likewise were Masters of the *Parr* near *St. Blass*; whereby they depriv'd them of the chief place of Landing the Provisions which came by Sea. And now the Earl began to be very sensible of the ill Condition he was in, and discern'd that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had receiv'd advertisement that the Party which was sent for his Relief from *London*, had receiv'd some brush in *Somerset-shire*, which would much retard their March; and therefore it behov'd him to enter upon new Councils, and to take new Resolutions.

IT is very true the Defeat at *Crookedy* (in which there did not appear to be one thousand Men kill'd, or taken Prisoners) had so totally broken *Waller's* Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majesty was marched directly towards the West, observing likewise that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to *London*, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearken'd to, and his Person receiv'd, and treated, as if he had return'd Victorious after having Defeated the King's Army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the King's Quarters, where all accidental Misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

BUT when he went himself to *London*, or presently upon it, he sent his Lieutenant General *Middleton* (a Person of whom We shall say much hereafter, and who liv'd to wipe out the Memory of the ill foot-steps of his Youth; for he was but eighteen years of Age, when he was first led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thousand Horse and Dragons, to follow the King into the West, and to wait upon his Rear, with Orders to reduce in his way *Downington* Castle, the House of a private Gentleman near *Newbury*, in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's; and which they believ'd would be deliver'd up, as soon as demanded; being a place, as They thought, of little strength. But *Middleton* found it so well defended by Colonel *Bole*, who was Governour of it, that after he had lost at least three hundred Officers and Soldiers, in attempting to take it, he was compell'd

compell'd to recommend it to the Governour of *Abingdon*, to send an Officer and some Troops to block it up from infecting that great Road into the West; and himself prosecuted his March to follow the King.

IN *Somersetshire*, he heard of great Magazines of all Provisions, made for the supply of the King's Army, which were sent every day by strong Convoys to *Exeter*, there to wait further Orders. To surprise these Provisions he sent Major *Carr*, with five hundred Horse; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have Master'd them, when *St Francis Doddington*, with a Troop of Horse, and some Foot from *Bridgewater*, came seasonably to their Relief; and after a very sharp Conflict, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were kill'd, and, among them, Major *Killegrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a Gallant and most deserving Father, he totally Routed the Enemy; kill'd thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who Commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recover'd all that they had taken: which sharp Encounters, where always many more Men are lost, than are kill'd, or taken Prisoners, put such a stop to *Middleton's* March, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the Defeat or Obstruction, which the Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his Relief; and which made him despair of any Succour that way.

WHEN the Earl found himself in this Condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any Provisions for his Army; he resolv'd, that *St William Balfour* should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would Embark his Foot at *Fey*, and with them escape by Sea. And two Foot Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *French*-man, came over from them, and assured the King, "that they intended, that Night, to break through
"with their Horse, which were all then drawn on that side
"the River, and Town of *Lisibis*"; and that the Foot were
"to march to *Fey*, where they should be Embarked. This
Intelligence agreed with what they otherwise receiv'd, and was believ'd as it ought to be; and thereupon, order was given, "that both Armies (for that under Prince *Maurice* was looked upon as distinct, and always so Quarter'd)
"should stand to their Armes all that Night; and if the Horse
"attempted an escape, fall on them from both Quarters; the
passage between them, through which they must go, being
but

but a Musquet-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified; in which fifty Musqueteers were placed. Advertisment was sent to Goring, and all the Horse; and the Orders renew'd, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the high-way, to obstruct their passage.

Balfour
with the Earl
of Essex's
Horse escapes
thro' the
King's
Army.

THE effect of all this Providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The Night grew dark and misty, as the Enemy could wish; and about three in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horse passed with great Silence between the Armies, and within Pistol-shot of the Cottage, without so much as one Musquet discharged at them. At the break of Day, the Horse were discover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the reach of the Foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, the Body of the King's Horse being at a greater distance. That Brigade, to which some other Troops which had taken the Alarm joyn'd, follow'd them in the Rear; and kill'd some, and took more Prisoners: But stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compell'd to retire; yet follow'd in that manner, that they kill'd and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustain'd in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exercises; which he receiv'd with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the Enemies Horse were pass'd through his Quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their Horses, became Prisoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite Reproach of the King's Army, and of all his Garrisons in the way. Nor was any Man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the Superior Officer had failed in his duty.

THE next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Lisfishiel*, and march'd towards *Foy*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new Fort discern'd it, and sent a Company of Musqueteers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserv'd the Bridge; over which the King presently march'd to overtake the Rear of the Army, which march'd so fast, yet in good Order, that they left two Demy-Culverins, and two other very good Guns, and

and some Ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horse had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would have prov'd a Bloody day to the Enemy. The Night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being so near the Enemy, that they discharged many Cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at Supper. *Sunday* being the next day, and the first day of *September*, in the Morning, *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Essex*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Bocawoche*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a Parley. Aftoon as he was sent away, the Earl embarked himself, with the Lord *Roberts*, and such other Officers as he had most kindness for, in a Vessel at *Foy*; and so escaped into *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major General *Skippon*; who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, deliver'd at *London*; where he was receiv'd without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shew'd to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himself likewise with him.

The Earl of Essex leaves his Army, and escapes to Plymouth by Sea.

THE King consented to the Parley; upon which a Cessation was concluded; and Hostages interchangeably deliver'd; and then the Enemy sent Propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified Town, after a handsome defence are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not look'd upon as Men in that Condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about six thousand Armes; which being done, "the Officers were to have liberty to wear their Swords, and to pass with their own Money, and proper Goods; and to secure them from Plunder, they were to have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southampton*; all their sick and wounded might stay in *Foy* till they were recover'd, and "then have Passes to *Plymouth*."

THIS Agreement was executed accordingly, on *Monday* the second of *September*, and though it was near the Evening before all was finished, they would march away that Night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from Violence, yet first at *Lisfrivil*, where they had been long Quarter'd, and in other Towns through which they had formerly pass'd, the

the Inhabitants, especially the Women, who pretended to see their own Cloaths and Goods about them, which they had been plunder'd of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themselves with great Insolence in the march. That Night there came about one hundred of them to the King's Army, and of the six thousand, for so many march'd out of *Fey*, there did not a third part come to *Southampton*; where the King's Convoy left them; to which *Shippen* gave a large Testimony under his hand, "that they had carried themselves with great Civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation."

*Affairs at
Oxford
during the
King's ab-
sence.*

WHILST the King was in the West, though he had left *Oxford* in a very ill State in respect of Provisions and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remain'd there, the Town being full of Lords (besides those of the Council) and of Persons of the best Quality, with very many Ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his Service, concurr'd and agreed so well together, that they prevail'd with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused Provisions of Corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the Publick Schools to that purpose; and committing the Custody of them to the owners of the Corn. They had rais'd so many Volunteers, that their Guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the Parliament Armies were before the Town, Major General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good Reputation, and a stout Man, had been left in *Abingdon* with a strong Garrison; from whence, being superior in number, he infest'd *Oxford* very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the Fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a Siege, *Waller* being at a distance, and not able to follow the King, and less able to sit down before *Oxford*, they resolv'd to do somewhat to be talk'd of.

THE King had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their Governour, and very apprehensive of his Rudeness, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of *St William Penniman*, who had been Governour of *Oxford*, to the great satisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Person, and who perform'd all manner of Civilities to all sorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well understanding the manners of the Court (the Queen being then in *Oxford*) her Majesty, who thought her self the safer for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholic,

thelick, prevail'd with the King, to confer that charge upon *Sr Arthur Aston*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much esteem'd, where he was Not known; and very much disliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at *Oxford*, to be below'd by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary Commission to the Lords of his Council, to whose Authority he was to submit, which oblig'd him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, staid in the Town; and those, by the King's direction, the Lords dispos'd to assist the Governour; and particularly, to take care of the several Quarters of the Town; one whereof was assign'd to each of them: among them, Colonel *Gage* was one; who having the *English* Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make offer of his Service to the King; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

He was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Person, of an Honourable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Master in the *Spanish* and *Italian* Tongues, besides the *French* and the *Dutch*, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts; having for many years been much esteem'd in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutches, *Albert* and *Isabella*, at *Brussels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time; so that he deserv'd to be look'd upon as a wise and accomplished Person. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they look'd to be Besieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more secure for His being in it; which render'd him so ungrateful to the Governour, *Sr Arthur*, that he cross'd him in any thing he propos'd, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

THE Garrison of *Basing-House*, the Seat of the Marquis *Colonel Gage*
of *Winchester*, in which himself was and commanded, had been ^{relieved}
now strictly Besieged, for the space of above three Months, by ^{Basing-}
a conjunction of the Parliament Troops of *Hampshire* and ^{House.}
Sussex,

Assen, under the Command of *Norton*, *Ouslow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greatest Fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's March into the West, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent Notice to *Oxford* of his resolution to march into the West, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, "that he would make *Basing* his way, and thereby relieve it, which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the Lords of the Council "to provide, in some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer "his Person, and a place from whence the Rebels receiv'd so "much prejudice, to fall into their hands. The Lady *Marchioness*, his Wife, was then in *Oxford*; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her Husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honour and Alliance, as Sister to the Earl of *Essex*, and to the Lady *Marchioness* of *Hertford*; who was likewise in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the Town, look'd upon themselves as concern'd to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offer'd to lift themselves, and their Servants in the Service.

THE Council, both upon publick and private motives, was very heartily dispos'd to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governour too reasonably oppos'd the design, "as full of more "difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any Soldier "who understood Command, would expose himself and the "King's Service to; and protested, "that he would not suffer any of the small Garrison that was under his charge, to "be hazarded in the attempt. It was very true, *Basing* was near forty Miles from *Oxford* and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a strong Garrison of Horse and Foot at *Abingdon*, and as strong at *Reading*, whose Horse every day visited all the High-ways near, besides a Body of Horse and Dragoons Quarter'd at *Newbury*; so that it appear'd to most Men hardly possible to send a Party to *Basing*, and impossible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they should be able to get to *Basing*: yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a positive Declaration, "that he could not defend it above ten "days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the Rebels were like to grant to his Person, and to his Religion; and new instances from his Lady, prevail'd with the Lords to
enter

enter upon a new consultation ; in which the Governour persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

IN this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, "that though he thought the Service full of hazard, especially for the return ; yet if the Lords would, by lifting their own Servants, persuade the Gentlemen in the Town to do the like, and engage their own Persons, whereby a good Troop or two of Horse might be raised (upon which the principal dependence must be) he would willingly, if there were no body else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself ; and hoped he should give a good account of it : which being offer'd with great cheerfulness by a Person, of whose Prudence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolv'd to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

THERE was about this time, by the surrender of *Greenland-House* (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins* march'd into *Oxford*, amounting to near three Hundred ; to which as many others joyn'd as made it up four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Servants upon their own Horses ; and they, with the Volunteers, who frankly lifted themselves, amounted to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horse, all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*, an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in some emulation with Colonel *Gage* ; and who, upon the Catholick Interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small Party for so great an Action, *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the beginning of the Night ; and, by the Morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his Troops ; which was a Wood near *Wallingford* ; from whence he dispatched an Express to *St William Ogle*, Governour of *Winchester* ; who had made a promise to the Lords of the Council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the Siege before *Basing*, he would send one hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot out of his Garrison for their Assistance ; and a presumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking : and so he was directed, at What hour in the Morning his Party should fall into *Basing Park*, in the Rear of the Rebels Quarters ; whilst *Gage* himself would fall on the other side ; the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent Sallies from the House.

AFTER some hours of refreshment in the Morning, and sending this Express to *Winchester*, the Troops marched through by-Lanes to *Aldermaston*, a Village out of any great road ; where they intended to take more rest that Night. They

They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange Tawny Scarfs and Ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have pass'd undiscover'd even to the approach upon the Besiegers. But the Party of Horse which was sent before to *Aldermaston*, found there some of the Parliament Horse, and forgetting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven Prisoners; whereby the secret was discover'd, and notice quickly sent to *Basing* of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that Village than was intended, and than the weariness of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that Night; the Horsemen often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and surbated.

BETWEEN four and five of the Clock on *Wednesday* Morning, it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arriv'd within a Mile of *Basing*; where an Officer, sent from *Sr William Ogles*, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his Troops so far, in regard many of the Enemies Horse lay between *Winchester* and *Basing*. This broke all the Colonels measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole Method of his proceedings; and instead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the *Winchester* Forces had comply'd with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscover'd, he resolv'd now to fall on jointly with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battallions; and rid to every Squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to tye a white Tape Ribban, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arme; and gave them the word *St George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the Marquis, left in his Sallies their Men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

THUS they marched towards the House, Colonel *Wells* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bunkley* the left of the Horse; and *Gage* himself the Foot: they had not marched far, when at the upper End of a large Campagne Field, upon a little rising of an Hill, they discern'd a Body of five Cornets of Horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between two Hedges lin'd very thick with Musqueteers; from whom the Horse very

very Courageously bore a smart Volly, and then Charged the Enemies Horse so Gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The Foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into their Quarters and Works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the House was gained on that side, where the Colonel only stay'd to salute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately marched with his Horse and Foot to *Basing-stoke*, a good Market Town two Miles from the House; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by some Officers of the Garrison, to the Town of *Basing*, a Village but a Mile distant. In *Basing-stoke*, they found store of Wheat, Mault, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheese, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day sent to the House, as they could find Carts or Horses to transport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and some Musquets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilst the other Party, that went to *Basing-Town*, beat the Enemy that was Quarter'd there, after having kill'd forty or fifty of them; some fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Prisoners; and, among them, two Captains, *Jarvis* and *Jephson*, the two eldest Sons of two of the greatest Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Prisoners to *Basing-House*; the rest, who Besieged that side, being fled into a strong Fort which they had raised in the Park. The Colonel spent that, and the next day, in sending all manner of Provisions into the House; and then reasonably computing that the Garrison was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for besides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been dismayed, with all the Troops, which lay Quarter'd within any distance, and appear'd within sight of the House more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewise well inform'd by the Persons he had employed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodged themselves at *Aldermaston*, and those from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kennet*; over which he was to pass.

HEREUPON, that he might take away the Apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out Orders, which he was sure would come into the Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the House, "that they should, by the next

“day-noon, send such proportions of Corn into *Basing*-House, “as were mention’d in the Warrants; upon pain, if they “failed by the time, to have a thousand Horse and Dragoons “sent to fire the Towns. This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thursday* the second Night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he marched from *Basing* without sound of Drum or Trumpet, and passed the *Kennet*, undiscover’d, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the Horse taking the Foot *en Croupe*; and then, marching by-ways, in the Morning they likewise passed over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and so escaped the Enemy, and got before Night to *Wallingford*; where he securely rested, and refreshed his Men that Night; and the next Day arrived safe at *Oxford*; having lost only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, and Common Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously: what number the Enemy lost could not be known; but it was believ’d, they lost many, besides above one hundred Prisoners that were taken; and it was confess’d, by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been perform’d in the War on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the Commander.

THE next day after the Army of *Essex* was gone, and dissolv’d, the King return’d to his Quarters at *Buckenoch*, and stayed there only a day to refresh his Men; having sent, the day before, *Greenvil*, with the *Cornish* Horse and Foot, towards *Plymouth*, to joyn with *Goring* in the pursuit of *Balfour*, and that Body of Horse; which, by passing over the Bridge near *Salt-ash*, they might easily have done. But he slacken’d his march that he might possess *Salt-ash*, which the Enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with some Armes and Ammunition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joyning with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of those Foot, excused his not Fighting with *Balfour* when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a pursuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wise and eminent Father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Balfour*, by an orderly and well govern’d march, pass’d above one hundred Miles in the King’s Quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

THE fear and apprehension of the Enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that Body of Foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their Armes; and so have made both Officers and Soldiers to become Prisoners of War: by which the Enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another Army. But they who undertook to censure that Action, how great a Number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the King's Army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first enter'd *Cornwall*, which was in the beginning of *August*, and when a Party of his Majesty's Horse surpris'd and seized the Earl of *Essex*'s own Lieutenant Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Bocconcks*, before his Majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the Enemy was then in, the case was very much alter'd in the beginning of *September*, when the Articles were made; and when the number of the Foot who laid down their Armes, was in truth superior to those of the King's (as it will appear anon) when his Army marched out of *Cornwall*. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their Horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the King's Horse, his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quarter'd behind them, about *St. Blasé*, their Foot might very well have marched away with their Horse, their Cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscern'd have done, the King's Army in the Condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those inclosed parts, narrow Lanes, and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Somerset*, have been able to have done them little harm: Besides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Middleton*, notwithstanding all his Affronts, was then come to *Truerton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less Prudence than Clemency.

AFTER this great Success, the King thought fit to renew *The King* his offer of Peace; and sent a Message to the two Houses of *Parliament*, to desire that there might be a Treaty to that purpose; which Message was sent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Essex*, after his repair to *London*, to be deliver'd by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was persuaded, in his

way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon *Plymouth*; for so far it might be presumed that the *Cornish* Troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: And if he could, by appearing before it, become Master of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the West thoroughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an Army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a Summons to the Town, and receiv'd a rude Answer to it:

*The King
leaves Sr
Richard
Greenvil
to Block up
Plymouth.*

FOR the Earl of *Essex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town; a Man of a four and surly Nature, a great Opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require some time, pursued his former Resolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of *Plymouth* to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of Assurance undertaken to take the Town by *Christmas*, if such Conditions might be perform'd to him, all which were punctually comply'd with; whilst he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War first upon his Wife, who had been long in possession of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself Master of all Their Estates who were in the Service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the Town; only upon the first Message between the Lord *Roberts* and Him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter observ'd between them; but such as were taken on either side, were put to the Sword; or which was worse, to the Halter.

SINCE there will be often occasion to mention this Gentleman, *Sr Richard Greenvil*, in the ensuing discourse, and because many Men believ'd, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the King's Service some Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwall*, which had, in several Ages, produced Men of great Courage, and very signal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was Himself younger Brother (though in his Nature, or Humour,

Humour, not of Kin to him) to the brave *Sr Bevil Greenvil*, who so Courageously lost his Life in the Battle of *Lansdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the Profession of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Veere*, who was General of all the *English*. In that Service he was look'd upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he attain'd after few years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the Expedition to *Cales*, this Gentleman serv'd as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the same Command, in the War that soon after follow'd against *France*; and, at the Isle of *Rhee*, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well deserv'd it.

HIS Credit every day encreased with the Duke; who, out of the generosity of his Nature, as a most generous Person he was, resolv'd to raise his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance, and sollicitation, he prevail'd with a rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which she had not yet outliv'd; and though she had no great Dower by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; yet she inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was besides very rich in a Personal Estate, and was look'd upon as the richest Match of the West. This Lady, by the Duke's Credit, *Sr Richard Greenvil* (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtain'd; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful Estate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he depriv'd of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expence a Person of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his Vanity and Ambition; nor so great as He, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her Fortune, he grew less pleased with his Wife; who, being a Woman of a Haughty and Imperious Nature, and of a Wit superior to His, quickly resented the disrespect she receiv'd from him; and in no degree studied to make her self easy to him. After some years spent together in these Domestick unsociable Contestations, in which he possess'd himself of all her Estate, as the Sole Ma-

fter of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any Competency for her self; and indulged to himself all those Licences in her own House, which to Women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw her self from him; and was with all kindnes receiv'd into that Family, in which she had before been Married, and was always very much respected.

HER Absence was not ingrateful to him, till the Tenants refused to pay him any more Rent, and he found himself on a suddain depriv'd of her whole Estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appear'd now, that she had, before her Marriage with him, settled her entire Fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, that the present right was in Him, and he required the Rents to be paid to him. This begot a Suit in the Chancery between *Sr Richard Greenvil* and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Cventry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve *Sr Richard Greenvil* in Equity, but that in Justice he must Decree the Land to the Earl; which he did. This very sensible Mortification transported him so much, that, being a Man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a Personal Conflict, he reveng'd himself upon him in such opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the Earl appeal'd for Reparation to the Court of Star-Chamber; where *Sr Richard* was Decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fin'd the Sum of three thousand pounds to the King; who gave the Fine likewise to the Earl: so that *Sr Richard* was committed to the Prison of the Fleet in Execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very severe and rigorous Decree, and drew a general Compassion towards the unhappy Gentleman.

AFTER he had endured many years of strict Imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his escape out of the Prison; and transporting himself beyond the Seas, remain'd there till the Parliament was call'd that produced so many Miseries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Star-Chamber, were repeal'd, and the Persons griev'd, absolv'd from those Penalties, he likewise return'd, and petition'd to have his Cause heard; for which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the first Troops that were rais'd, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution of it)

it) *Sr Richard Greenvil*, upon the same of being a good Officer, was sent over with a very good Troop of Horse; was Major of the Earl of *Leicester's* own Regiment of Horse, and was very much esteem'd by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of Cruelty he did every day commit upon the *Irish*; which were of so many kinds upon both Sexes, Young and Old, hanging old Men who were Bedrid, because they would not discover where their Money was, that he believ'd they had; and old Women, some of Quality, after he had plunder'd them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believ'd, though notoriously known to be true.

AFTER the Cessation was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring so heartily against that Cessation; and *Sr William Waller* being in the beginning of this year to make his Expedition into the West, after the Battle of *Alresford*, *Sr Richard Greenvil* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to Command the Horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his Interest in *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, would advance theirs. He receiv'd from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Lustre; and *Sr William Waller* communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend, and an Officer of that Eminence, by whose Advice he meant to govern his own Conduct.

HIS first and principal design was to surprise *Basing House*, by a correspondence with the Lord *Edward Pawlet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Winchester*, and then with him, as unsuspected as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, *Sr Richard Greenvil* was sent before with a Body of the Horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time *Waller* himself should come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horse at *Bagsbot*, and the same day march'd out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and six Horses, a Waggon and six Horses, many Led Horses, and many Servants: with those, when he came to *Staines*, he left the *Bagsbot* road, and march'd directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*, where he was very graciously receiv'd by the King, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole design of the surprise of *Basing*; upon which the King sent an Express immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his Brother,

and the other Conspirators; who confess'd all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The Marquis prevail'd with the King, that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garrison, after Justice was done upon his Complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery, preserv'd that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the Person of the Discoverer; upon whom the Parliament thunder'd out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judgements upon him of Attainder, Confiscation, and incapacity of Pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incens'd: which was all the excuse he could make for his severe proceedings against those of their Party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he Commanded.

FROM *Oxford* he went quickly into the West, before he had any Command there; declaring that he would assist Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice's* departure from thence with his Army, was left to Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much Courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he should put *Sr Richard Greenville* into the possession of his Wife's Estate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was justly liable to a Sequestration by her living in *London*, and being too zealously of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that Estate; which was what he most set his Heart upon.

ONE day he made a Visit from his House, which he call'd his own, to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen Troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the Garrison, in their usual Excursions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour Wood, with Burthens of Wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the Troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own Life, he was contented to do: so strong his Appetite was to those Executions he had been accusom'd to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commission or pretence of Authority.

SHORTLY after, upon a Salley made with Horse and Foot from the Town, Colonel *Digby* (who besides the keenness of his Courage had a more compos'd understanding, and less liable to fumes, than some of his Family who had sharper Parts) Charging them with such vigour as Routed, and drove them

them back, receiv'd himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierced near his Brain; so that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recover'd enough to endure the Air, and never did the effects of the Wound. Upon this accident *Sr Richard Grenvil* was placed in that Command, which he executed for some Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Essex*, he was compell'd to retire into *Cornwall*, where We found him at the King's coming thither.

THIS so large excursion upon a private Person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much Animosity against the memory of a Man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's Service: But they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compell'd the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the World, and prevailed with some good Men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had some Personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

THE King was now most intent to return into his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Waller* was even ready to come out of *London*, and that *Middleton* was retired from *Triverton* to joyn with him; that they had sent for the Earl of *Manchester* to march towards the West with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long deferr'd his march, he must look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty; and had made long marches above six Months together, required some rest and refreshment; the Foot were without Cloaths, and Shoes; and the Horse in such ill humour, that without Money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King march'd from *Plymouth*, himself, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court, went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be Quarter'd at *Triverton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arriv'd on the 21st of *September*.

HIS Majesty now quickly discern'd how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessen'd and diminish'd his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he enter'd *Cornwal*,

wal, were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince *Maurice's*, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the King first view'd them at *Kirtan*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Greenvil*, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse left with him, for the Blocking up *Phymouth*; the rest were dwindled away; or else, which was his usual Artifice, he had encouraged them to stay for some time in *Cornwal*, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his Forces suddenly encreased; and the truth is, few of the *Cornish* march'd Eastward with the King. The King's Horse were harraled, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the Riders; so that great Provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the Commissioners, appointed in *Devonshire* for those Affairs, his Majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in Money, which was presently distributed among the Horse; and three thousand Sutes of Cloaths, with good proportions of Shoes and Stockings; which were likewise deliver'd to the Foot. What remain'd yet wanting for the Horse and Foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into *Somersetshire*; where the Commissioners of that County, had undertaken they should be ready.

THERE was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyme*; which were grown more insolent by the Success they had Had; and made Incursions sometimes even to the Walls of *Exeter*; and to restrain a stronger Garrison in *Taunton*. For when Prince *Maurice* raised his Siege from *Lyme*, he had very unhappily drawn out the Garrison of *Taunton*, which consisted of eight hundred Men, under the Command of *Sr John Stavel*, a Person of that Eminent Courage and Fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore Men in the Castle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as *Essex* in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffer'd Death. And it was now, by the Garrison the Earl put into it, and the extreme Malignity and Pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a sharp Thorn in the sides of all that Populous County.

To remedy the first of these, some Troops which depended upon the Garrison of *Exeter*, were assign'd, and were to receive Orders from *Sr John Berkley*, Governour thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service by the reduction of *Barnstable*; which was done during the King's stay at *Exeter*.

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The other of *Tamton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unquestionable Fidelity, by the Divisions and Factions in the Country, was not equal to the work. To dispatch all this, the King staid not a full week at *Exeter*; but hasten'd his march to *Chard* in *Somerset-shire*, where he staid longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reach'd *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a Conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Cloaths (which the Commissioners of *Somerset-shire* promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the last of *September*, that the King march'd from *Chard*; and Quarter'd that Night at a House of the Lord *Paulet's*, where Prince *Rupert* met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thousand Horse under the Command of *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his Western Expedition. Prince *Rupert* presently return'd to *Bristol*, with Orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those Northern Horse under *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thousand Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, into *Gloucester-shire*; by which the Enemy might be obliged to divide their Force, which if they should still keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to joyn with the King: But these Orders were not executed in time. The King's Army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred Foot, and about four thousand Horse; and *Waller* was already come with his Horse to *Blanford*; but some of his Troops being beaten up by those of the King's, he retired to *Shaftsbury*, and those parts of *Wilt-shire* adjacent. It concern'd the King very much, before he left those parts, to Relieve *Portland Castle*, which had been now Besieged from the time of the Earl of *Essex's* march that way. To that purpose, he march'd to *Sherborne*; where he staid six days too long, though in that time he rais'd the Siege before *Portland Castle*, if he had not hoped by that delay that his Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advanced in his march. *Sr Lewis Dives* was left with his own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers, and some Horse in *Sherborne Castle*, and made Commander in Chief of *Dorset-shire*; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raise Men enough to recover *Weymouth*: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His Majesty had a great desire,
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in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve *Donnington* Castle, and *Basing*; which was again Besieged by almost the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to send a good Party to relieve *Banbury*, which had been close Besieged by Colonel *John Piennes*, another Son of the Lord *Sey*, with all the Forces of *Northampton-shire*, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*; and bravely defended by *St. William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

IN order to preserve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the fifteenth of *October*; where he understood, "that *Waller* lay at *Andover* with his Troops; that *Manchester* was advanced as far as *Reading* with five thousand Horse and Foot, and four and twenty pieces of Ordnance; and that four Regiments of the Train'd-bands of *London*, were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the Horse and Foot of the Earl of *Essex's* Army were near *Portsmouth*, expecting Orders to joyn with the rest. This might very well have disposed his Majesty to have hasten'd his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair conclusion of the Campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King receiv'd Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his Troops so soon as his Majesty expected; and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolv'd, both *Donnington* Castle, and *Banbury*, might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gayety possided *Goring*, that he earnestly advis'd the King to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat *Waller*; who lay at *Andover*, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand Horse and Dragoons; which the King, upon the unanimous consent of the Council, consented to.

HE had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Essex*, in *Exeter*; and now he sent all his great Cannon to a Garrison he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford*, a House of the Lord *Gorges*; where was a Garrison of one hundred Men, Commanded by a good Officer. The rest of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton*, the House of the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Regiment of Foot to guard them; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning, by seven of the Clock, near *Clarendon Park*; and good Guards were set at all the Avenues of the City, to keep all People from going out, that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been observ'd, as it rarely was (though his Majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the Foot under Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the Clock,

Clock, so that the Army did not begin it's march till twelve, yet they came within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had any Notice of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them, as if he meant to Fight; but upon view of their Strength, and the good Order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the Town; leaving a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charged, and Routed them with good Execution, and pursued them through the Town, and slew many of them in the Rear, until the darkness of the Night secured them, and hinder'd the others from following farther. But they were all scatter'd, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quarter'd that Night at *Andover*. The scattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the Spirits of the King's Army, that they desired nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolv'd to raise the Siege of *Downington-Castle*, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpose, he sent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford*, and *Wilton*, to make all hast to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he staid with his Army, till they came up to him; and then marched together to *Newbury*; within a Mile of *Downington*.

THE Blockade of *Downington-Castle* had been (when *Midleton* from thence pursued his march into the West) left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for some time was contented to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they had store of Provisions within, and having an addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he resolv'd to Besiege it; which he began to do the 29th of *September*; and made his Approaches; and raised a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and plyed it so with his great Cannon, that, after twelve days continual shooting, he beat down Three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believ'd had so humbled the Governour and the Garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Castle before *Wednesday* at ten of the Clock in the Morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no Man amongst them have his Life spared. The Governour made himself merry with his high and Threatning Language;

Language; and sent him word, "he would keep the place, and would neither give nor receive Quarter. At this time, the Earl of *Manchester* himself with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Answer to his own Summons, than *Horton* had done before, he resolv'd to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well inform'd of the resolution of those within, declined that hot Service; and plyed it with their Artillery until the next Night; and then remov'd their Battery to the other side of the Castle; and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a strong Sally, and beat them out of their Trenches, and kill'd a Lieutenant Colonel, who Commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; shot their Chief Cannoneer through the Head, brought away their Cannon-Baskets, and many Armes, and retired with very little loss: yet the next Night they finish'd their Battery: and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the Approach of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their Train'd-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the Walls, without any other damage to the Garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

Banbury-
Castle re-
liev'd by the
Earl of
Northam-
pton.

WHEN the King came to *Newbury*, the Governour of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for his very good behaviour, and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the Enemy, that his Majesty thought not of prosecuting his Journey towards *Oxford*, before he should Relieve both *Basing* and *Banbury*. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of Victuals, they having already eaten most of their Horses, his Majesty was well content that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme Government of that Garrison, where he had left his brave Brother his Lieutenant, should, with three Regiments of Horse, attempt the relieving it; Letters being sent to *Oxford*, "that Colonel *Gage*, with some "Horse and Foot from thence, should meet him; which they did punctually; and came time enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet they found the Rebels Horse (Superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five Bodies on the South side of the Town, near their Sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to Fight. But two, or three shots, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been sent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above seven hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon

upon the first advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Castle, that they might be at Liberty; whilst the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously Charged and Routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some Hedges with Musqueteers, pursued them till they were scatter'd, and rotally disper'd; their General, young *Fiennes*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Coven-*
try, without staying. The Foot, for the most part, by dispering themselves, escap'd by the Inclosures, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chase, one Field piece, and three Waggon's of Armes and Ammunition; many slain; and two Officers of Horse, with near one hundred other Prisoners, four Cornets of Horse, and two hundred Horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one Captain and nine Troopers; some Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was rais'd from *Banbury*; which had continu'd full thirteen Weeks; so notably defended, that though they had but two Horses left uneaten, they had never suffer'd a Summons to be sent to them; and it was now Reliev'd the very day of the Month upon which both Town and Castle had been render'd to the King two years before; being the 26th of *October*.

THOUGH the Relief of *Banbury* succeeded to wish; yet the King paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that Service was perform'd, Colonel *Urry*, a *Scotts-man*, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament, and is well mention'd, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and perform'd some signal Service to the King, had in the West, about the time the King enter'd into *Cornwall* (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him) desir'd a Pass to go beyond the Seas; and so quitted the Service: but instead of embarking himself, made hast to *London*; and put himself now into the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's Army, and a description of the Persons and Customes of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution, and weakness of the King's Army, they had also Advertisment of the Earl of *Northampton's* being gone, with three Regiments of Horse, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all those Forces which had been under *Essex* and *Waller*, being united with *Manchester* (with whom likewise the Train'd-bands of *London* were now join'd; all which made up a Body of above eight thousand Foot; the number of their Horse being not inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half the number before the departure of the Earl of *Northampton*, and stay'd still at *Newbury* with a reso-

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lution to expect the return of that Earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for *Basing*; not believing that the Enemy could be so soon united.

The second
Battle of
Newbury.

IT was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies Army, which had receiv'd positive Orders to Fight the King as soon as was possible, appear'd as near as *Thackham*; so that his Majesty not at all dismay'd, resolv'd to stand upon the Defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy would not speedily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being compell'd to lodge in the Field, which grew now to be very Cold, whilst his Army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King Quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*; and placed strong Guards on the South of the Town: but the greatest part of the Army was placed towards the Enemies Quarters, in a good House belonging to Mr *Doleman* at *Shaw*, and in a Village near it, defended by the River that runs under *Donnington*-Castle, and in a House between that Village and *Newbury*, about which a Work was cast up, and at a Mill upon the River of *Kennet*; all which lay almost East from the Town. Directly North from thence were two open Fields, where most of the Horse stood with the Train of Artillery, and about half a mile West, was the Village of *Speen*; and beyond it a small Heath. In this Village lay all Prince *Maurice's* Foot, and some Horse, and at the Entrance of the Heath a work was cast up, which clear'd the Heath. In this posture they had many Skirmishes with the Enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the Enemy was still beaten off with loss.

ON Sunday Morning, the seven and twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thousand of the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, with the Train'd-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and pass'd the River that way by *Shaw*; and, undiscover'd, forced that Guard which should have kept the Pass near the House; that was entrench'd where *Sr. Bernard Astley* lay; who instantly, with a good Body of Musqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only Rout'd them, but compell'd them to Rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the Enemy were slain, and many drown'd in the River, and above two hundred Armes taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmishes in several parts; the Enemies Army having almost encompass'd the King's; and with much more loss to Them, than to the King; till, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Essex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and

and pass'd the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horse and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a Quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the River, they marched in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horse, towards the Heath; from whence the Horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retir'd; being in truth much overpower'd, by reason the Major part of them, upon confidence of security of the Pass, were gone to provide Forage for their Horse.

By this means, the Enemy possess'd themselves of the Ordnance which had been planted there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retir'd to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which they made good: at the same time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with one hundred Musqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horse stood; which at first receiv'd them in some disorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horse, commanded by *Sr John Cansfield*, charged them with so much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the Musqueteers were slain, and very many of the Horse; insomuch that that whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Presence, restrain those Horse which at the first approach of the Enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving Ground. So that if *Sr John Cansfield* had not, in that Article of Time, given them that brisk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced towards the North-side of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, Charg'd them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a Hedge; and following them, was Charg'd by another fresh Body; which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only Routed and beaten them off their ground, but endur'd the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the Earl of *Cleveland's* Horse falling under him, he was taken Prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred Horse, and three thousand

Foot of those under the Earl of *Manchester*, advanced with great Resolution upon *Shaw-House*, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by *St Jacob Abley*, and Colonel *George Life*; and the House, by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*. They came singing of Psalms; and, at first, drove forty Musqueteers from a Hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently Charg'd by *St John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another Body of their Horse ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in *Mr Doleman's Garden*, which flank'd that Field, and give fire upon those Horse, whereof very many fell; and the Horse thereupon Wheeling about, *St John Brown* fell upon their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Reserve of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Ibbetson*, gall'd their Foot with several Vollics; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Musquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, some Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted *Mr Doleman's House*, but were so well entertain'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such Confusion, that he pursued them from the House with a notable Execution; insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the House, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now night; for which neither Party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the Enemy only had prevail'd, thought that his Army had suffer'd alike in all other places. He saw they were entirely possess'd of *Spens*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next Morning, to have compass'd him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

HEREUPON, as soon as it was night, his Majesty, with the Prince, and those Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Donnington-Castle*, and resolv'd to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great Advantage the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompass'd, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards *Wallingford*; and to that purpose, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn under

under *Downington-Castle*; so he sent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Men to the same Place; and receiving Intelligence at that time that Prince *Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Bath*, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to joyn with his Army, his Majesty himself, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horse, made hast thither; and found Prince *Rupert* there; and thence made what hast they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in so ill a condition, as the King conceiv'd it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair Moon-shine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much Superior in Number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been so roughly treated at *Sham*, having receiv'd Succour of a strong Body of Horse, resolv'd once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their Hill, where they stood still. This was the last Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their several Guards to the Heath about *Downington-Castle*; in which they left most of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriages; then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, march'd in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up the Rear to *Sr Humphrey Bennet* (who had behaved himself very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horse march'd behind, and receiv'd not the least disturbance from the Enemy; who, in so light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat, and were well enough pleas'd to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them so ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horse, arriv'd at *Wallingford*; where having Refresh'd a little, they march'd to *Oxford*, without seeing any Party of the Enemy that look'd after them.

MANY made a Question which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough satisfied with their Success. There could be no question there were very many more kill'd of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were missing, only *Sr William St Leger*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant Colonel *Topping*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Leake*, both Officers of Horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred Common Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; *Sr John Cansfield*, *Sr John Grenvil*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, were wounded;

but all recover'd. The officers of the Enemies side were never talk'd of, being for the most part, of no better Families than the Common Soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the Action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet because the King's Army quitted the Field, and march'd away in the Night, the other side thought themselves Masters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their usual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they discern'd that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagin'd, that the Earl of *Brentford* remain'd that night in the Castle, by reason of the hurt in his Head, and so sent Colonel *Urry* to him to persuade him to give up the Castle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the Colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

THE next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made hast to possess themselves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington-Castle*, and summon'd the Governour "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however he "would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards: seeing his obstinacy, they offer'd him "to march away with the "Armes, and all things belonging to the Garrison; and, when that moved not, "that he should carry all the Cannon, and "Ammunition with him; to all which he Answer'd, "that "he wonder'd they would not be satisfied with so many Answers that he had sent, and desired them "to be assured, "that he would not go out of the Castle, till the King sent "him Order so to do. Offended with these high Answers, they resolv'd to Assault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party, being kill'd with some few of the Soldiers, they retired; and never after made any attempt upon it; but remain'd quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themselves; every Man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

THE King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with Colonel *Gerrard*, and *St Marmaduke Langdale*; and made all the hast he could to joyn those Forces with his own Army, that so he might march back to *Newbury*, and disengage his Cannon,

Cannon, and Carriages. By the way he met the Earl of *Northampton*, and those Regiments which had Reliev'd *Banbury*; and having with marvellous Expedition caused a new Train of Artillery to be form'd, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Bullington-Green*; where, with the Addition of those Forces, and some Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it appear'd to be full six thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse; with which he march'd to *Wallingford*; and within a day more than a Week after he had left *Downington* Castle, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolv'd not to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be first possessed of his Cannon, and put some Provision into the Castle; which he accomplish'd without any opposition.

The King relieves Downington Castle.

THE Enemies Army lay still at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Divisions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horse was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battalia; Prince *Rupert*, who was now declared General, led the Van; and got possession of the Heath, on the back side of the Castle; from which a small Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to Fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they marched by the Castle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any opposition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great Body of their Horse and Foot into the other Field toward *Shew*, and had made Breast-works and Batteries on the back side of *Newbury*; which Town they resolv'd to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer Lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a night or two in the Fields; it being now the Month of *November*, but fair for that Season. Some light Skirmishes pass'd between the Horse, but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to Fight, he called his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had Reliev'd the Castle, "and put sufficient Provisions into it, and that it was in his "power to draw off his Ordnance and Ammunition from "thence, he had done his business; and if any Honour had "been lost the other day, it was regain'd now, by his having "pass'd his Army over the River in the face of Theirs, and "offer'd them Battle; which they durst not accept. Upon which the King resolv'd to attempt them no farther, but gave

Orders to retire in their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets Sounding, the same way he came over the River. So the King lay that night at *Donnington* Castle, and all the Army about him.

THE King had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his Winter Quarters; and was willing, that the Enemy should have an opportunity to Fight with him, if they desired it: And therefore, on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his Majesty marched with all his Cannon and Ammunition over the Heath from *Donnington*, over a fair Campaign, to *Lamborne*; in which march, some of the Enemies Horse attempted his Rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken Prisoners. There the King Quarter'd that night, and the next day, to refresh his Men, for the ill Lodging they had endured at *Donnington*; having sent some Persons of great Reputation and Interest to *Marlborough*, to make large provisions for Him, and his Army. And then, since he heard the Enemy lay still at *Newbury*, he marched to *Marlborough*; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of *Basing*, which was now again distress'd; the Enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely from the time that *Gage* had reliev'd it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle: but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong Party; that one thousand Horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Provisions, and march so as to be at *Basing* House the next morning after they parted from the Army; and then every Trooper was to cast down his Bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might: And Colonel *Gage*, who had so good success before, was appointed to Command this Party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to dispatch that Party: so his Majesty marched back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time marched from thence to *Basing*; which, they thought, would, upon the sight of their whole Army, presently have yielded; but finding the Marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the Winter War, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither; so that he easily deliver'd his Provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His Majesty then marched to *Farrington*, with some hope to have surpris'd *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had consider'd where to Quarter his Horse, which had formerly had their head

head Quarter at *Abingdon*, and those places which were now under the power of that Governour, he return'd to *Oxford*; *The King* where he arriv'd to the universal Joy, on the three and twenty^{returns to} of *November*; a Season of the year fit for all the Troops *Oxford* to be in their Winter Quarters.

THE King was exceedingly pleased to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgement of it to them. And the Governour *St Arthur Aston*, having, some Months before, in the Managing his Horse in the Fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and, shortly after, been compell'd to cut it off; so that, if he recover'd at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majesty resolv'd to confer that Government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a War-rant for one thousand pounds a year Pension for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all Men, he conferr'd that Government upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. *St Arthur Aston* was so much displeased with his Successor, that he besought the King to confer that Charge upon any other Person; and when he found that his Majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some Lords to come to him, who he thought were most Zealous in Religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, "that though he was himself a Roman Catholick, he "had been very careful to give no scandal to his Majesty's "Protestant Subjects; and could not but inform him, that "Gage was the most Jesuited Papist alive; that he had a Jesuit "who liv'd with him; and that he was present at all the Sermons among the Catholicks; which he believ'd would be "very much to his Majesty's disservice. So much his Passion and Animosity over-ruled his Conscience.

THE King liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new Governour, by one of his Friends, "to have so much "discretion in his Carriage, that there might be no notice "taken of the Exercise of his Religion; to which animadversion he Answer'd, "that he never had dissembled his Religion, nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in the "Exercise of it, that he knew there could be no Witness produced, who had ever seen him at Mass in *Oxford*; though "he heard Mass every day; and that he had never been but "once at a Sermon; which was at the Lodging of *St Arthur's* "Daughter; to which he had been invited with great importunity; and believ'd now that it was to entrap him. But the poor Gentleman enjoy'd the Office very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break

down *Culham* Bridge near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal Fort, that should have kept that Garrison from that side of the Country; he was shot through the Heart with a Musquet Bullet. Prince *Rupert* was present at the Action, having approv'd, and been much pleas'd with the design; which was never pursu'd after his death: and in truth the King sustain'd a wonderful loss in his death; he being a Man of great wisdom and temper; and one among the very few Soldiers, who made himself to be Universally lov'd and esteem'd.

THOUGH the King's Condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reason to expect (he had broken, and defeated two Armies of the Parliament, and return'd into his Winter Quarter with advantage, and rather with an encrease than diminution of his Forces) yet his necessities were still the same, and the Fountains dried up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters shorten'd, and lessen'd by the loss of the whole North: for after the Battle of *Tork*, the *Scots* return'd to Reduce *New-Castle*; which they had already done; and all other Garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that Work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that Army should again move South-ward, and take such other Places, as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

*The Temper
of the Army,
and Court at
this time.*

THE King's Army was less united than ever; the old General was set aside, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no Popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no oversights in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and always concurr'd with the most reasonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough, and Passionate, and lov'd not Debate; liked what was propos'd, as he liked the Persons who propos'd it; and was so great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepepper*, who were only present in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he cross'd all they propos'd. The truth is, all the Army had been dispos'd, from the first raising it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the Respect due to it; in which he lessen'd his own Dignity.

GORING, who was now General of the Horse, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the Officers. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried

miscarried in it. *Goring* had a much better Understanding, and a sharper Wit (except in the very exercise of Debauchery, and then the other was inspir'd) a much keener Courage, and presentness of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* discern'd it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was within distance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to resist the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory: as, in one of those fits, he had suffer'd the Horse to escape out of *Cornwall*; and the most signal Misfortunes of his Life in War, had their rise from that uncontrollable Licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any Rules of Honour, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit, or convenience to himself; *Goring* without scruple, out of Humour, or for Wit's sake; and lov'd no Man so well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to Publick Mirth for having been cozen'd: therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleas'd the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrain'd by any respect to good Nature or Justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to startle him, and would not have attain'd his end by any gross, or foul Act of wickedness; *Goring* could have pass'd through those pleasantly; and would, without hesitation, have broken any Trust, or done any Act of Treachery to have satisfied an ordinary passion, or appetite; and in truth, wanted nothing but Industry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Understanding, and Ambition, uncontroll'd by any fear of God, or Man) to have been as eminent, and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any Man in the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Dissimulation was his Master-piece; in which he so much excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily sham'd, or out of countenance, with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

THE Court was not much better dispos'd than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with those who had; and thought they had not deserv'd so well as themselves: They who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the Titles they had receiv'd upon their own violent Importunity. So that the King was without any joy in the Favours he had conferr'd, and yet was not the less sollicit'd to grant more to others of the

the same kind; who, he foresaw, would be no better pleas'd than the rest: and the pleasing one Man this way, displeas'd one hundred; as his Creating the Lord *Colepepper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had serv'd him with great Abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it) did much dissatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no Ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and dispos'd many others to be very importunate to receive the same Obligation.

THERE had been another Counsel enter'd upon, and concluded with great Deliberation and Wisdom, which turn'd at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage; which was the Cessation in *Ireland*; enter'd into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that united Kingdom, to have assist'd to the suppressing the Rebellion in this. But now, as all the Supplies he had receiv'd from thence upon the Cessation, had been already destroy'd without any benefit to the King, so his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worse condition by being depriv'd of so many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the conclusion of the Cessation. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the Confederate Roman Catholics, to treat a Peace; the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had sent likewise Commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be consider'd in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation that had been made.

*Propositions
from Ire-
land, reject-
ed by the
King.*

THE Commissioners from the Confederate Roman Catholics, demanded "the Abrogation, and Repeal of all those Laws, which were in force against the Exercise of the Roman Religion: That the Lieutenant, or Chief Governour, should be a Roman Catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that Religion should not be capable of any Preferment in the Kingdom, as well as the Protestants; together with the Repeal of several Laws, which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

THE Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy Council) profess'd "that they desired a Peace might be made; but propos'd in order, as they said, to the security of the Kingdom, "that all the *Irish* might be Dis-
arm'd;

“arm’d; and such among them, as had been most signal and
 “barbarous in the Massacres in the beginning of the Rebel-
 “lion, might be excepted from Pardon, and prosecuted with
 “the utmost rigour of Law: That the Laws might be put
 “in Execution against all Roman Catholics, and especially
 “against all Jesuits, Priests, and Fryars; and that they might
 “be obliged to pay all the Damages which had been sustain’d
 “by the War.

THE Commissioners from the Protestants demanded,
 “that the Cessation might be dissolv’d, and the War car-
 “ried on with the utmost Rigour, according to the Act
 “of Parliament that had been made in the beginning of
 “the Rebellion; and that no Peace might be made on any
 “Conditions.

THE King demanded of the *Irish*, “whether they believ’d
 “it could be in his Power, if it were agreeable to his Con-
 “science, to grant them their Demands? and whether he
 “must not thereby purchase *Ireland* with the loss of *England*
 “and *Scotland*? There were among them some sober Men,
 who confessed “that as his Majesty’s Affairs then stood, they
 “believ’d he could not grant it; and they hoped, that their
 “General Assembly would, when they should be inform’d of
 “the truth of his Majesty’s Condition, which was not known
 “to them, be perswaded to depart from some of their De-
 “mands; but that, for the present, they had not Authority to
 “recede from any one Proposition.

THE King then asked the Commissioners who had been
 sent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the King-
 dom, “which Forces they thought to be the stronger, the
 “King’s Army, or that of the Rebels; they confessed “the
 “Rebels to be much superior in Power, and that they were
 “possessed of more than three parts of the Kingdom. The
 King then asked them, “whether they thought it probable,
 “now they found themselves to be the Stronger, that the
 “Rebels would be perswaded to yield to so disadvantageous
 “terms, as they propos’d, and to be so wholly at the Mercy
 “of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they
 “could be so disposed, whether they believ’d that they were
 “able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in
 “*Ireland* to pay the Damages which had been sustain’d by
 “the War? The Commissioners acknowledged, “that they
 “thought the last impossible; and that there might be a mi-
 “tigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst
 “not advise his Majesty to recede at all; for that there could
 “be no other security for the Protestants in that Kingdom,
 “but by leaving the *Irish* without any capacity, or ability to
 “Trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they
 could

“could not be trusted; and therefore they must be put into such a Condition, by being totally Disarm’d, that they should not be able to do any Mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave the Kingdom to the entire possession of the *Irish*; and whether that would be for his Majesty’s Service and Security, they must refer to his own Wisdom.

THE King then sent for the Commissioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked them, “whether they were ready, if the Cessation were expir’d, to renew the War, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the Reduction or Suppression of the *Irish*? They answer’d very clearly, “that in the State they were in, they could not carry on the War, or defend themselves against the *Irish*, who were much Superior to them in Power; but if his Majesty would recruit his Army, and send over Money, and Arms, and Ammunition, with Shipping, they made no doubt, but with God’s blessing, they should be able shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom. The King then asked them, “whether they did in truth think, that his Majesty was able to send them such Supplies as they stood in need of? or whether they did not, in their Consciences, know, that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own Support? They answer’d, that they hoped he would make a Peace with the Parliament, and would then be able to send over such Assistance to *Ireland*, as would quickly settle that Kingdom.

BUT after all these discourses, his Majesty prevail’d not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their Demands; whereupon he dismissed them; and told the *Irish*, “it had been in their Power so far to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some particulars, which were not now seasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a Power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a Nation.

So they all left *Oxford*; and his Majesty, notwithstanding all this Resolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, found that he suffer’d under no reproach more in *England*, than by having made that Cessation: so wonderfully unreasonable was the generality of the Nation then by the absurd imputation of his Majesty’s favouring the *Irish*.

THE streights in which the King now was, brought him to some reflections he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he

he had ever before entertain'd. His three younger Children were taken from the Governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament Quarters, but expressly by their Order, put into the Custody of One in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was One in whom the Parliament confided so much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what Governour, or Servants he put about him; resolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to say "that Himself and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own fight: but communicated these thoughts only with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord *Colepepper* upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he then conferr'd with no body. There was but one Province in which the Prince could reside, after he was sever'd from the King; and that was the *West*; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the Rebels being possessed of *Taunton*, one of the chief Towns in *Somerset-shire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King in the natural disaffection of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the same ill Principles; and *Waller* had already sent some Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a Body sufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the *West*: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the *Scots Army*, upon the recovery of all the North, had shaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the last Enemy the *West* had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, *Goring* (who had now made a fast friendship with the Lord *Digby*; either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the Engagement) was sent with some Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Taunton* would be in a short time reduced by the Garrisons the King had in the Country: so that this alteration rather confirm'd, than diverted his Majesty, in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither: and he begun to publish his purpose, and named Counsellors to be with his Highness,

*A Council
settled for
the Prince
of Wales.*

Highness, by whose Advice all things should be done; his Majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince should go no farther West than *Bristol*; and that there might no jealousies arise from this Action (which every Body knew was so far from the King's former purpose; and it might be imagin'd, that his Highness would be sent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreasonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended should be about his Son; the Reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopston*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the Prince's Lodging, to consider with his Highness, what preparations should be made for his Journey, and in what manner his Family should be established. There was one Person more, who of necessity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berk-shire*, his Governour; and then his Majesty found, what wrong Measures he had taken in the conferring that Trust; and lamented his own error to those he trusted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great Inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the Prince's Reverence, and Esteem for his Governour; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governour without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and so much less, as the Prince had a better esteem of every one of Them, than he had of Him: and so left him without a Governour, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berk-shire* too.

*Divisions among those
as Westminster,*

WHEN the King was in this Melancholick posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear that the disorder the Parliament was in, was Superior to His. The Cause of all the Distractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his Majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the personal Animosities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

THAT violent Party, which had at first cozen'd the rest into

into the War, and afterwards obstructed all the Approaches towards Peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remain'd to be done, must be dispatched by new Workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the Earl of *Essex*, and He as much with Them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the loss and dishonour he had sustain'd in *Cornwall*, very well; and would have been glad, that both He and his Army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolv'd; for most of his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and desired nothing but Peace: so that they resolv'd never more to trust, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom they depended as a fast friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the Earl of *Essex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appear'd now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought some Counsels upon the Stage, before they were ripe:

CROMWELL accused the Earl of *Manchester*, "of having betray'd the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that he might, at the King's last being at *Newbury*, when he drew off his Cannon, very easily have Defeated his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and shew'd him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own Brigade of Horse, to Charge the King's Army in their Retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his Army, might look on, and do as he should think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other Officers, positively and obitimately refused to permit him; giving no other reason, but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another Army to keep up the War; but if that Army which he Commanded, should be overthrown, before the other under the Earl of *Essex* should be reinforced, there would be an end of their preences; and they should be all Rebels, and Traytors, and executed and forfeited by the Law.

THIS pronounciation what the Law would do against them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law to be against them, after so many Declarations made by them, "that the Law was on Their side, and "that the King's Armes were taken up against the Law. The Earl confessed "he had used words to that effect, that they "should

"should be treated as Traytors, if their Army was Defeated, "when he did not approve the advice that was given by the "Lieutenant General; which would have expos'd the Army "to greater hazard, than he thought seasonable in that Con- "juncture, in the middle of the Winter, to expose it to. He then recriminated *Cromwell*, "that, at another time, *Crom-* "well discoursing freely with him of the State of the King- "dom, and proposing somewhat to be done, the Earl had An- "swer'd, "that the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* presently replied, "My Lord, if you will "stick firm to honest Men, you shall find your self in the "head of an Army that shall give the Law to King and Par- "liament; which discourse, he said, made great impression "in him; for he knew the Lieutenant General to be a Man "of very deep designs; and therefore he was the more care- "ful to preserve an Army, which he yet thought was very "faithful to the Parliament.

THIS discourse startled those who had always an aversion to *Cromwell*, and had observ'd the fierceness of his Nature, and the Language he commonly us'd when there was any mention of Peace; so that they desired that this matter might be thoroughly examin'd, and brought to Judgement. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the Earl of *Manchester*, than to have the other matter examin'd; which would unavoidably have made some discoveries they were not yet ready to produce. However the Animosities encreased, and the Parties appear'd barefaced against each other; which augmented the distractions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament; and new opinions started up in Religion; which made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; and *Fanaticks* were now first brought into appellation: which kind of confusions exceedingly dis- posed Men of any sober understanding, to wish for Peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

THE *Scottish* Commissioners were as jealous, and as unsatis- fied as any other Party; and found, since the Battle of *York*, neither their Army, nor themselves so much consider'd, as before; nor conditions perform'd towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of *Cromwell*, and *St Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they saw encreased every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their sacred Vow and Covenant was mention'd with less reverence, and respect, and the Inde- pendants, which comprehended many Sects in Religion, spake publicly against it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane*,
2 were

were the Leaders; with very many of their Clergy Men, who were the most Popular Preachers, and in the Assembly of Divines had great Authority: so that the *Scots* plainly perceiv'd, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the Church of *England*, as they desired, they should never be able to Establish their Presbyterian Government; without which they should lose all their Credit in their own Country, and all their Interest in *England*. They discern'd likewise, that there was a purpose, if that Party prevail'd, to change the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republick; which was as far from the end and purpose of that Nation, as to restore Episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the Mischief and Confusion that would fall out, but by a Peace; which they begun heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that Party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a Treaty on foot, they knew not.

THE House of Peers, three or four Men excepted, wished it; but had no power to compass it. In the House of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolv'd to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a Proposition for a Treaty, "if the King desired it; but that it would be dishonourable, "and of very pernicious consequence to the Nation, if the "Parliament first propos'd it. So that it seem'd evident, that if any of the Party which did in truth desire Peace, should propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of Honour, by many of those who in their hearts pray'd for it.

THEY tried their old Friends of the City, who had serv'd their Turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament should be mov'd, "to send "to the King to Treat of Peace. But that design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite Party were appointed to set a counter Petition on foot, by which they should "disclaim any Consent to, or Approbation of the other Petition; "not that they did not desire Peace, as much as their Neighbours (no body was yet arriv'd at the impudence to profess against Peace) "but that they would not presume to move "the Parliament in it, because they knew, their wisdom "knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was "necessary and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it.

THIS Petition found more Countenance among the Magistrates, the Mayor, and Aldermen; *St Henry Vane* having diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and Inclinations,

clinations, should be brought into the Government of the City; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable Peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolv'd, "it could only rise from his Majesty; and to that purpose they should all labour with their several Friends at Oxford, to incline the King to send a Message to the Parliament, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost hazard before it should be rejected.

THE Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and own'd themselves) which fear'd and abhor'd all Motions towards Peace, were in as great streights as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolv'd to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aside, was the difficulty; especially the Earl of *Essex*, who had been so entirely their Founder, that they ow'd not more to the Power and Reputation of Parliament, than to His sole Name, and Credit: the being able to raise an Army, and conducting it to Fight against the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of His Power. And now to put such an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, must appear the highest Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army it self, where he was still exceedingly belov'd; and to continue him in that Trust, was to betray their own Designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disintangle themselves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter Expedition; only they sent *Waller* out, with such Troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and resolv'd to use their Service no more.

THEY knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the *Scottish* Commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolv'd to pursue the Method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses (and in those Combinations they were always unanimous) "that they would have a Solemn Fast-Day, in which they would seek God (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their Covenant) "and desire his Assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in: and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who were

were to perform that Exercise, and who were more Truſted in the deepeſt Deſigns, than moſt of thoſe who named them were : for there was now a Schiſm among their Clergy, as well as the Laity ; and the Independents were the Bolder, and more Political Men.

WHEN the Faſt-Day came (which was obſerv'd for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers pray'd " the Parliament might be inſpired with thoſe thoughts, as " might contribute to their Honour and Reputation ; and " that they might preſerve that opinion the Nation had of " their Honesty and Integrity, and be without any Selfiſh " ends, or ſeeking their own Benefit and Advantage. After this preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, " that it was " no wonder there was ſuch Diviſion among them in their " Counſels, when there was no Union in their hearts : That " the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only among " their Enemies, but with their beſt Friends ; who were the " more out of countenance, becauſe they found that the aſperſions and imputation which their Enemies had laid upon " them, were ſo well grounded, that they could not wipe " them off : That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition, " as many private Ends, and as little Zeal and Affection for " the Publick, as they had ever imputed to the Court : That, " whiſt they pretended, at the Publick coſt, and out of the " Purſes of the poor People, to make a general Reformation, " their chief care was to grow great and rich Themſelves ; " and that both the City and Kingdom took notice, with " great anxiety of Mind, that all the Offices of the Army, and " all the profitable Officers of the Kingdom, were in the hands " of the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament ; who, " whiſt the Nation grew poor, as it muſt needs do under " ſuch inſupportable Taxes, grew very rich ; and would, in " a ſhort time, get all the Money of the Kingdom into their " hands ; and that it could not reaſonably be expected, that " ſuch Men, who got ſo much, and enriched Themſelves to " that degree, by the continuance of the war, would heartily " purſue thoſe ways which would put an end to it ; the end " whereof muſt put an end to their Exorbitant Profit. When they had exaggerated theſe reproaches, as pathetically as they could, and the ſenſe the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a deſpair of ever ſeeing any end of the Calamities they ſuſtain'd, or having any proſpect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had ſo often and ſo ſolemnly promiſed to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, " that God would take his own Work into his hand ; " and if the Inſtruments he had already employ'd, were not

“worthy to bring so glorious a Design to a conclusion,
 “that He would inspire others more fit, who might perfect
 “what was begun, and bring the Trouble of the Nation to a
 “Godly period.

*After a Fast-
 day, Vane
 and Crom-
 well pro-
 posed a self-
 denying Or-
 dinance.*

WHEN the two Houses met together, the next day after these devout Animadversions, there was another Spirit appear'd in the looks of many of them. *Sr Henry Vane* told them, “if ever God had appear'd to them, it was in the exercise of Yesterday; and that it appear'd, it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly inform'd by many, who had been Auditors in other Congregations) the same lamentations, and discourses, had been made in all other Churches, as the Godly Preachers had made before Them; which could therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God. He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepar'd to enlarge; and besought them to remember their obligations to God, and to their Country; and that they would free themselves from those just reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, than by divesting themselves of all Offices, and Charges, that might bring in the least advantage and profit to themselves; by which only they could make it appear, that they were publick-hearted Men; and as they pay'd all Taxes and Impositions with the rest of the Nation, so they gave up all their time to their Countreys Service, without any reward or gratuity.

He told them, “that the Reflections of Yesterday, none of which had ever enter'd upon his Spirit before, had rais'd another Reflection in him than had been mention'd; which was, that it had been often taken notice of, and objected by the King himself, that the Numbers of the Members of Parliament, who sat in either House, were too few to give reputation to Acts of so great Moment, as were transacted in their Councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper Stations, but of those who had deserted their places, and their trusts, by being absent from the Parliament; yet that, in truth, there were too many absent, though in the Service of the House, and by Their appointment; and if all the Members were obliged to attend the Service of the Parliament, in the Parliament, it would bring great reputation to their Numbers, and the People would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller obedience to their Commands: and then concluded, “that he was ready to accuse himself for one of those who gain'd by an Office he had; and though he was possess'd of it before the beginning of the Troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the Parliament (for he had been join'd with *Sr William*

liam Russell in the Treasurer-ship of the Navy by the King's Grant) "yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the Parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof might be applied towards the support of the War.

WHEN the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had not yet arrived at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commended the Preachers "for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many things, upon which he had never reflected before, yet upon revolving what had been said, he could not but confess, that all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into the War, to engage many Members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might see that they did not intend to Embark them in perils of War, whilst themselves sat securely at home out of Gun-shot, but would march with them where the danger most threaten'd; and those Honourable Persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had merited so much of their Country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their Example: But, that God had so blessed their Army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than they were now possessed of; and desired them not to be terrify'd with an imagination, that if the highest Offices were vacant, they should not be able to put as fit Men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any Arm of Flesh, as to think such a Cause as This depended upon any one Man, he did take upon him to assure them, that they had Officers in their Army, who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in Christendom.

He said "he thought nothing so necessary as to purge, and vindicate the Parliament, from the partiality towards their own Members; and made a proffer to lay down his Commission of Command in the Army; and desir'd, "that an Ordinance might be prepar'd, by which it might be made unlawful, for any Member of either House of Parliament, to hold any Office or Command in the Army, or any Place or Employment in the State; and so concluded with an enlargement upon "the Vices, and Corruptions, which were gotten into the Army; the prophaneness, and impiety, and absence of all Religion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of Licence, and Laziness; and said plainly, that till

"the whole Army were new Modell'd, and Govern'd under
 "a stricter Discipline, they must not expect any notable Suc-
 "cess in any thing they went about.

THIS Debate ended in appointing a Committee, "to pre-
 "pare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all Members from
 "their Trusts aforesaid; which took up much Debate, and
 depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion;
 and in the end was call'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driv-
 ing on of which, exceedingly encreased the inclination of the
 other Party to Peace; which they did now foresee would only
 prevent their own ruines, in that of the Kingdom.

ADVICE came from so many several hands to *Oxford*, that
 the King should send a Message to the Houses for Peace, with
 an Assurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majesty
 (who still apprehended as great a division among his own
 Friends upon the Conditions of Peace, out of the universal
 weariness of the War, as he discern'd there was among his
 Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in
 Religion) enter'd upon the consideration how to bring it to
 pass. The Members of Parliament were still sitting at *Ox-
 ford*: but they at *London* who were most desirous of Peace,
 had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names
 should never be mention'd; which would have procured an
 Union between the most irreconcilable Parties, in throwing
 out such Overtures. On the other side the sending a bare
 Message, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce
 any other effect, than an insolent Answer in the same way,
 or no Answer at all, as his two or three last Messages had
 done.

IN conclusion, the King resolv'd that there should be a
 short Message drawn; in which, "the continuance of the War,
 "and the mischiefs it brought upon the Kingdom, should be
 "lamented: and his desire express'd, that some reasonable
 "Conditions of Peace might be thought upon; assuring them
 "that his Majesty would be willing to consent to any thing,
 "that could consist with his Conscience and Honour. He re-
 "solv'd, that he would send this Message by some Persons of
 Condition; who might, upon conference with their Friends,
 be able to make some impression; at least discover what might
 be reasonably expected. And if the Parliament should re-
 fuse to grant a Safe Conduct for such Messengers, it might
 well be presum'd, what reception the Message it self was like
 to find. The Persons he resolv'd to send, were the Duke of
Richmond, and the Earl of *Southampton*; both of unblemished
 Honour, and of general Reputation in the Kingdom. So a
 Trumpet was sent to the Earl of *Essex* for a Safe Guard, or
 Pass, to those two Lords; to the end they might deliver a
 Message

Message from the King to the two Houses concerning a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Essex* only answer'd, "that he would acquaint the Houses with it, and return their Answer; and so dismissed the Trumpet.

THE King had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolv'd never to admit a Peace, though they could not still prevent a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual Message: "If the Message it self had been sent, they might have judged, whether it had been like to be attended with good Success, and so might have accepted a Treaty, if they had approv'd of it; but this sending of Messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a Treaty before they admitted it; and to send Enemies into their Quarters, with Authority to scatter their Poyson abroad: and therefore, with great passion, they pressed, "that no such Pass should be sent. On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alledged, "that the refusal of the Safe Conduct was a total rejection of Peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offer'd; which the People would take very ill from them; and conclude that the War must continue for ever; they therefore wish'd that a Safe Guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their Friends, than to imagine that the Presence, or Power of two Men how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt, or pervert their Affections from the Parliament.

IN this opinion the *Scotish* Commissioners likewise concurr'd; so that the other Party found it necessary to consent, and the Safe Conduct, after many Debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their Friends abroad, to be overpower'd; they revenged themselves in pursuing the dispatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a General, it was already proposed "that *St Thomas Fairfax* (who had behaved himself so signally in their Service; in the Defeat of Colonel *Bellasis*, and taking him Prisoner, which gave them their first footing in *Tork shire*, from their being shut up and Besieged in *Hull*; in the overthrow of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all the *Irish* Regiments; and lastly in the late Battle at *Tork*, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the *Scotish* Army was Routed and their General Fled) "might now be made their General; for which *Oliver Cromwell* assured them he was very equal. In the discourses upon this Subject (which found all opposition) as the Service of the Earl of *Essex* was much magnified, and his merit extoll'd, by those who desired to have no other General,

neral, so it was undervalued, and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believ'd that all they could do would be to no purpose, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton sent to London with a Message for a Treaty. ABOUT the beginning of December, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, upon their Pass, went from Oxford to London; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the People should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scotish* Commissioners, as Men in Sovereign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them.

The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their Message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Message being deliver'd to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scotish* Commissioners made a third Estate, and the Message was directed to Them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolv'd, "that there should be a Conference between the two Houses in the Painted Chamber; at which the *Scotish* Commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the Table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the King's Messengers: Where there was a Seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that They would be so too: for though the Lords used to be cover'd whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scotish* Commissioners; and so none were cover'd. But as soon as the two Lords came thither, they cover'd, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that Eye-sore.

THE two Lords used very few words, in letting them know the King's great Inclinations to Peace; and deliver'd and read their Message to that purpose; which was receiv'd by the Lords without any other expressions than "that they should report it to the Houses; and so the meeting broke up: And then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, passed some Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send Confiding Persons to them. By which means, they found there were great Divisions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believ'd that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any such guess of the Moderation of the Conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired

desired the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon the highest terms of Honour, and Security for the Parliament; which could neither be Secure, nor Honourable for the King. They discover'd, that they who did heartily with the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Persons named by the King and Persons named by the Parliament, to meet at some third Place, and not to send Commissioners to *Oxford* to Treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end: Whereas they did believe, or seem'd to believe, that how unreasonable soever the Propositions should be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

THIS Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober Men were named for Commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of *Richmond* sent his Secretary *Webb* expressly to *Oxford*, to know the King's pleasure, "whether, if a third Place were proposed for Commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it? Which his Majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was perswaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they staid in Town, the Houses would never "so much as confer upon the Subject of their Message; because they found it would be matter of great Debate, and "spend much time; during which they did not desire their "Company, nor to be troubled with their Insufions. And therefore, as soon as they had receiv'd the King's Message, they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* before both Houses of Parliament, upon an Impeachment of High Treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the People, of what inclination they had to make a Peace with the King. The two Lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their Friends not to stay longer, but to expect the determination to be sent to *Oxford*, return'd to the King, with some confidence that a Treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some third Place, and not at *Oxford*, and less at *London*, by Commissioners which should be agreed on by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the King, from all those with whom they had conferr'd, and who were the chief Persons who advanced the Treaty, "that, if that which they labour'd for, should be
"yielded

“yielded to by the Parliament, his Majesty would not Name
 “a Person (whom they mention’d to the King) “for one of
 “his Commissioners; for that he was so odious, that they
 “would absolutely decline the Treaty, before they would
 “admit Him to be one of the Treaters.

*The Trial of
 the Arch-
 Bishop of
 Canter-
 bury.*

IT was, as is said before, a very sad Omen to the Treaty, that, after they had receiv’d the King’s Message by those Noble Lords, and before they return’d any Answer to it, they proceeded in the Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; who had lain Prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any prosecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Barrs of both Houses; charging him with several Articles of High Treason; which, if all that was alledged against him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treason. They accused him “of a design to bring in Popery, and of having “correspondence with the Pope, and such like particulars, as the Consciences of his greatest Enemies absolv’d him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more resolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was prosecuted by Lawyers, assign’d to that purpose, out of those, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some disobligations receiv’d from him, were sure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution; answer’d all their objections with clearness, and irresistible reason; and convinced all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his detestation of all Treasonable Intentions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolv’d him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of, and punish. However, when They had said all they could against Him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such Crime appearing, as the Lords, as the Supreme Court of Judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death; they resorted to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call’d it, that is by a determination of those Members who sat in the Houses (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of High Treason. The first time the two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Jurisdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to such a purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more against the Law, than that *Martherous Act*.

*He is con-
 demn’d by an
 Ordinance.*

WHEN

WHEN the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose, of bringing the Arch-Bishop to a Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great Reverence and Affection for him, had spoken to the King of it, and propos'd to him, "that in all events, there might be "a Pardon prepared, and sent to him, under the Great Seal "of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded against him in "any form of Law, he might plead the King's Pardon; which "must be allow'd by all who pretended to be govern'd by "the Law; but if they proceeded in a Martial, or any other "extraordinary way, without any form of Law, his Majesty should declare his Justice and Affection to an old "faithful Servant, whom he much esteem'd, in having done "all towards his preservation that was in his Power to do. The King was wonderfully pleas'd with the Proposition; and took from thence occasion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch-Bishop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cause the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majesty would Sign and Seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the Chancellor sent for *St Thomas Gardiner* the King's Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure; upon which he presently drew the Pardon, which was Sign'd and Seal'd with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully sent, and deliver'd into the Arch-Bishop's own hand, before he was brought to his Trial; who receiv'd it with great joy, as it was a Testimony of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavour'd to take away the King's Life, would preserve His by his Majesty's Authority.

WHEN the Arch-Bishop's Council had perus'd the Pardon, and consider'd that all possible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the Impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at *Oxford*, because they had no Copy of it; and therefore had suppli'd it with all those general expressions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid against any exceptions the King's own Council could make against it. Hereupon, the Arch-Bishop had, by the same Messenger, return'd the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and deliver'd safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when his Trial was over, and the Ordinance pass'd for his Execution, and He call'd and asked, according to custom in Criminal proceedings, "what "he could say more, why he should not suffer death? He told them,

*The Arch-
Bishop be-
headed.*

them, "that he had the King's gracious Pardon, which he "pleaded, and tender'd to them, and desired that it might "be allow'd. Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long Debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the "King could not Pardon a Judgement of Parliament. And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his Beheading; which he underwent with all Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of the Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in this place (his memory deserving a particular celebration) than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attain'd by very few, and the greatest of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the best Men.

WHEN they had dispatched this important work, and thereby receiv'd a new instance of the good Affection and Courage of their Friends, and involv'd the two Houses in fresh guilt and obloquy (for too many concurr'd in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their Credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more Authority advance the Peace that was desired) they now enter upon the Debate, "what Answer they should send the King, "concerning a Treaty for Peace. They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new modelling the Army, and to prevent the encrease of those Factions in Religion, which every day broke out among them, to the notorious Scandal of Christianity. They who had no mind to a Treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of Peace, discern'd plainly, that they should not be able to finish their design upon the Army, and set many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolv'd, that there should be a Treaty, and upon the Method that should be observ'd in the conducting it; from which they who should be employ'd by them, should not recede to be diverted.

*The two
Houses agree
to a Treaty
at Ux-
bridge.*

THEN they nominated sixteen Commissioners for the two Houses, and four for the Parliament of *Scotland*, and named *Uxbridge* for the place where the Treaty should be; which Treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin.

UPON this conclusion, they sent their Answer to the Message, they had receiv'd from the King by a Trumpet, in a Letter from their General to the King's General; in which they inform'd his Majesty, "that, out of their passionate desire of "Peace,

"Peace, they had agreed to his Proposition for a Treaty;
 "and that they had assign'd *Uxbridge* for the place where it
 "should be; and had appointed the Earl of *Northumberland*,
 "the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of
 "*Denbigh*, of the House of Peers; and of the Commons,
 "the Lord *Wainman*, Mr *Pierpoint*, Mr *Hollis*, Mr *Saint-John*
 "(whom they called the King's Solicitor General) "Sr *Henry*
 "*Vane* the younger, Mr *Whitlock*, Mr *Crew*, and Mr *Pri-*
 "*deaux*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord *Lowden*,
 "Chancellor of *Scotland*; the Lord *Maitland* (who, by the
 death of his Father, became Earl of *Lauderdale* by the time of
 the Treaty) "Sr *Charles Erskin*, and one Mr *Barsley*, to be
 "their Commissioners; together with Mr *Alexander Hender-*
 "*son*, in matters only which relate to the Church; to Treat,
 "upon the particulars they had entrusted them with, with such
 "Persons, as his Majesty should please to Nominate; for all
 "whom a Safe Conduct should be sent, as soon as his Majesty
 "had named them; as they desired his Majesty's Safe Conduct
 "for the Persons named by them: to none of which the King
 took any exception, but sign'd their Pass; and sent word to
 the Houses, "that he accepted the Treaty, and the place, and
 "that he had nominated, as Commissioners for Him, the Duke ^{The King}
 "of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *South-* ^{accepts it.}
 "*ampton*, the Earl of *Kington*, the Earl of *Chichester*, the Lord
 "*Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, Controller of
 "the King's Household; the Lord *Colepepper*, Master of the
 "Rolls; Sr *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sr
 "*Edward Nicholas*, principal Secretary of State; Sr *Richard*
 "*Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer; Sr *Tho-*
 "*mas Gardiner*, his Majesty's Solicitor General; Sr *Orlando*
 "*Bridgman*, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr *John Alb-*
 "*urgham*, and Mr *Geoffery Palmer*; and desired, that a Safe
 "Conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for
 "the others; and they should then be ready, at the day that
 "was set down, at *Uxbridge*.

WHEN this was return'd to *Westminster*, there arose new
 disputes upon the Persons named by the King, or rather a-
 gainst the Additions, and Apellations of Title, which were
 made to their Names; for they did not except against the
 Persons of any of them, though several were most ungracious
 to them.

WHEN the Lord Keeper *Littleton* had fled from *Westmin-*
ster, upon his Majesty's Commands to attend him at *Tork*,
 the two Houses had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing
 "which should, from that time, pass under the Great Seal,
 "should be good and valid; but void and null: this they
 did to discredit any Commission, which they foresaw might
 issue

issue out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder : and, in some time after, they had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the dispatch of the necessary process in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Justice ; which Seal was committed by them to some of their Members, who had sate in the Chancery, and transacted the business of that Court, and applied the Seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs, invaded in this Message they had now receiv'd from the King. The Lord *Dunsmore* had been created Earl of *Chichester* ; *Sr Christopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton* ; *Sr John Colepepper*, Lord *Colepepper*, with the Addition of Master of the Rolls : which Office they had bestowed upon *Lenthall* their Speaker, who was in possession of it ; *Sr Edward Hyde* was declar'd Chancellor of the Exchequer ; which, though it was an Office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the Great Seal, after it came into the King's hands. *Sr Thomas Gardiner* was made the King's Solicitor ; and the Patent formerly granted to their belov'd *Saint-John*, stood revoked ; which they would not endure ; having, as is said, annexed that Title to his Name when they mention'd him as a Commissioner for their Treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief Baron, and to the Attorney of the Wards ; both which Offices were in the possession of Men more in their favour.

AFTER long Debate, they were contented to insert their Names in their Safe Conduct, without their Honours, or Offices ; and they were so angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a Knight, because he was not so when he left the Parliament : But the *Scotish* Commissioners prevail'd in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the Use of the King's Sword from him : so they allow'd him, by a Majority of Votes, to be a Knight, and sent their Safe Conduct, in the manner as is mention'd, to *Oxford* : Upon which the King, at the desire of the Persons concern'd, forbore to insist ; but giving them still in his own Pass, and in his Commission whereby they were authoriz'd to Treat, the Style and Appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allow'd by the others before they begun to Treat. The Style of their Pass was not thought worthy any reply ; and because there was private advice given at the same time, " that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, consider any Authority " that qualified the King's Commissioners to Treat, but only " what should be under the King's Sign-Manual, though they would not have taken that for a sufficient Warrant for themselves to Treat with the King's Enemies ; at last the King's

Commissioners were contented, together with a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was desired.

ABOUT the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, ^{The Treaty} the Commissioners on both sides met at *Uxbridge*; which be- ^{as Ux-}ing within the Enemy's Quarters, the King's Commissioners ^{bridge.} were to have such Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the Town to the King's Commissioners, one House only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; so that they had no cause to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good House at the end of the Town, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the House, handsomely dressed up for the Commissioners to sit in; a large square Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either Party; and a Rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other Rooms on either side of this great Room, for the Commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult by themselves, and to return again to the publick Debate; and there being good Stairs at either end of the House, they never went through each others Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

AS SOON as the King's Commissioners came to the Town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, those of the King's return'd their visits with usual Civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The first visits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the same Room with the *English*. Each Party eat always together, there being two great Inns which serv'd very well to that purpose. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majesty's House, kept his Table there for all the King's Commissioners: nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving Visits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the King's Party used their accusom'd Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side, there was great wariness and reservedness; and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give, or receive Visits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's Commissioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least

least trusted. It was observ'd by the Town, and the People that flocked thither, that the King's Commissioners looked as if they were at home and govern'd the Town; and the other as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of Mind, as Men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

THE King's Commissioners would willingly have performed their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they call'd it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the Vestures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be used: So that the days of Devotion were observ'd in their great Room of the Inn; whither many of the Country, and the Train of the Commissioners, and other Persons, who came every day from *London*, usually resorted.

WHEN the Commissioners, on both sides, met first together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King's Commissioners, which side of the Table they would take; the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always deliver'd anything that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the powers of both sides were examined, and perus'd) propos'd some Rules to be observ'd in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing binding, unless All were Agreed upon; and such like; to which there was no objection; and offer'd, as a direction they had receiv'd from the Parliament, "that they should first enter upon the "matter of Religion, and Treat three entire days upon that "Subject, without entring upon any other; and if all Differences, in that particular, were not adjust'd within those "days, they should then proceed to the next Point, which was "the Militia; and observe the same Method in that, and from "thence pass to the business of *Ireland*; which three Points "being well settled, they believ'd the other differences would "be with more ease compos'd: and after those Nine days "were pass'd, they were to go round again upon the several "Subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: his "Majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit, "at his own time, and to change the Method propos'd. It was declared, "that the Twenty days, limited for the Treaty, "were to be reckon'd of the days which should be spent in "the Treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or "the days spent in Devotion; there falling out three Sundays and a Fast-day in those Twenty days. The Method was willingly consented to; the King's Commissioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the King's behalf,

behalf, till they discerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular; by which they might take their Measures, and might propose any thing of Moment under one of the three Heads mention'd before.

THERE happen'd a very odd Accident, the very first Morning they met at the House to agree upon their Method to be observ'd in the Treaty. It was a Market day, when they us'd always to have a Sermon, and many of the Persons who came from *Oxford* in the Commissioners Train, went to the Church to observe the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from *London* with the Commissioners, who preached, and told his Auditory, which consisted of the People of the Town, and of those who came to the Market, the Church being very full, "that they were not to expect any good from the Treaty; for that they came from *Oxford* with hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell; and that they intended only to amuse the People with expectation of Peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them; and inveighed so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King, and against the Persons of the Commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the People to mutiny; and in it to do some Act of Violence upon the Commissioners. They were no sooner advertis'd of it, by several Persons who had been present in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been spoken, than they inform'd the other Commissioners of it: gave them a Charge in writing against the Preacher; and demanded publick Justice. They seem'd troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the Man; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no Authority to punish him, but that they had caus'd him to be sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the Town; and this was all that could be obtain'd: so unwilling they were to discountenance any Man who was willing to serve them. This is the same *Love*, who some years after, by *Cromwell's* particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the *Scots* against the Army, and their Parliament.

IT is not the purpose of this Discourse to set down the particular transactions of this Treaty; which were published by the King's Order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the Papers, which had been delivered by the Commissioners on either side, expos'd to the View of the Kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated,

and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mentioned; that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this History, may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who govern'd the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to Act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

First of Religion.

THE first business to be entred upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. Steward, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Commissioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other side; and they both sat cover'd without the Bar, at the backs of the Commissioners. On the Parliament Part, it was proposed, "that all the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, and abolished; and in the room thereof, that there might be another Government erected; such as should be most agreeable to God's word, and the Practice of the best Churches. That the Book of Common-Prayer might be taken away; and totally suppressed; and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used (in which there was likewise set down as much of the Government, which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of Articles or Canons, which they had likewise abolished) and "that the King himself should take the Covenant; and consent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all Persons of the Kingdom should be likewise oblig'd to take it. And the Copies of the Covenant, and the Directory were deliver'd at the same time to the King's Commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over; before any Answer could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourn'd their Treaty till the next Morning; and though they enter'd upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that Afternoon, and some part of the Night, before they had finish'd the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *Congregational, Classical, Provincial, and Synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant, which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the Persons who fram'd them, were not all of one mind, nor had the same Intentions in some of the other terms mention'd before, the King's Commissioners caus'd many Questions to be prepared in writing, to be offer'd at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be inform'd, what their meaning was in such and such Expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one, and the same Answer.

ABOUT

ABOUT the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, visited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and He presently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after some short Compliments, the Earl told him, "how stoutly he had defended his Knighthood; which the Parliament had resolv'd to have denied, if he had not convinced them. Thence, he discoursed of "the great prejudice the Parliament had against him, "as a Man who more industriously oppos'd Peace than any "other of the King's Council: that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good Instrument in making this Peace, and by perswading his Majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would be.

THE Chancellor told him, "that the King did so much "desire a Peace, that no Man need advise him to it, or could "divert him from it, if fair and honourable conditions of "Peace were offer'd to him; but if a Peace could not be "had, but upon such conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent with his Honour, or his Conscience, no Man could "have credit enough to perswade him to accept it; and that, "for His own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill "opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it. The other seem'd disappointed in his so positive Answer; yet, with great freedom, enter'd upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of Apology, "that *Scotland* was so far engaged in the "Quarrel, contrary to their former Intentions, and Professions, he did as good as conclude, "that if the King would "satisfy them in the business of the Church, they would not "concern themselves in any of the other Demands. In which Proposition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands, as inconsistent with Conscience, Justice, or Religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the Treaty, than between any other of the Commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private Conferences with other of the Commissioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concern'd the Church.

WHEN, upon the next meeting of the Commissioners,
P p 2 the

the Questions, which were mention'd before, were read, and deliver'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, who always perform'd that part on the behalf of the King's Commissioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliaments, there was a visible disorder in their Countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We look'd into Their Game; but without offering at any Answer, they arose, and went to their Room of consultation; where they remain'd in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other Commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourn'd till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were sat, the Earl of *Northumberland* said, "that they wonder'd there should appear any difficulty in any expressions, upon which those Questions had been administer'd in the Morning; which to Them seem'd very clear and plain; however, to give their Lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble Lord, there present, who was well acquainted with the signification of all those words, to explain what the common sense and meaning of them was. Thereupon, the Earl of *Lancaster* made a discourse upon the several Questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accusom'd to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronounciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commissioners desired, "that they might receive an Answer in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be understood to be the sense of either side, but what was deliver'd in Writing; and therefore they desired, that what that Noble Lord had said, which they presumed was the sense of all the rest, because they had referr'd to Him, and seem'd satisfied with what he had deliver'd, might be given to them in writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an Answer to what was propos'd to them. This demand, founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the *Scotish* Commissioners into great passion: for all the *English* sat still without speaking a word, as if they were not concern'd. The Lord *Lancaster* repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, said, "that the things were so plain, that no Man could choose but understand, and remember what was spoken; and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time; which would be quickly out, half the time assign'd for the business of Religion being to expire that night; and therefore passionately desired them,

them, "that they would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter.

It was replied, "that they could not trust their Memories so far, as to prepare an Answer to their demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demand; which they had less reason now to believe they did, than before; since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an Answer to the Papers they had given: And two or three of the King's Commissioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise deliver'd to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any Answer in writing; nor they on the King's side, to desist from demanding it: But they declared, "that as they presumed, they should, in the end, receive their Answer in writing, which they should not depart from, so "it was their resolution not to defer their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they were ready to prosecute that in "the method they would desire; and so it was resolv'd, "the "next Morning, to hear the Divines, who were of either "Party, what they would say against or for Episcopacy, and "the Government, and Lands of the Church; which were equally concern'd in the Debate.

On the King's part, besides Dr *Steward*, who was a Commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr *Skeldon*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; Dr *Levy*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*; Dr *Fern*, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*; Dr *Potter*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Provost of *Queen's College* in *Oxford*; and Dr *Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were sent by him to attend the Commissioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of the Treaty required; which could not be foreseen: On the Parliament side, besides Mr *Alexander Henderson*, who was the Commissioner, Mr *Marshall* a Country Parson in *Essex*, and an Eminent Preacher of that Party, who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, Mr *Vines*, a Parson likewise in *Warwickshire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church, which had been so often disputed there) Mr *Cheyne*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton College* in *Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remember'd.

Mr *Henderſon* begun rather with Rhetorick, than Logick, of the neceſſity to change the Government of the Church, for the preſervation of the State; which was ſo much in danger, that it could be preſerv'd no other way; and therefore that in Conſcience it ought to be conſented to; that the Queſtion was not about the preſervation of Both, which, by the Wiſdoms of the Parliaments of both Nations, was found to be impoſſible; but ſince there could but one ſtand, whether they ſhould be both Sacrificed, or the Church given up, that the State might be preſerv'd: nor was the Queſtion now whether Epiſcopacy was Lawful, and the Government by Biſhops conſiſtent with Religion, but whether it was ſo neceſſary, that Religion could not be preſerv'd without it; which was to condemn all the Reform'd Churches of *Europe*, where there were no Biſhops, *England* only excepted. It ought therefore to ſuffice, that the Parliament, which beſt underſtood what was good for the Nation, had found it to be a very unneceſſary, inconvenient, and corrupt Government, that had been productive of great miſchief to the Kingdom from the very time of the Reformation; that the Biſhops had always favour'd Popery, and preſerv'd, and continued many of the Rights and Cuſtoms thereof in their Government, and Practice; and had of late introduced many Innovations into the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of *Rome*, and to the great ſcandal of the Proteſtant Churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*; that they had been the occaſion of the War between the two Nations of *Scotland*, and *England*; and then of the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and now of the Civil War in *England*; and thereupon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting all the Proteſtant Churches, which was the only way to extinguiſh Popery, had reſolv'd to change this inconvenient, miſchievous Government, and erect another in the place of it, which ſhould advance Piety, and true Religion; and that he hoped the King would concur in ſo Godly an Action, which would prove ſo much for his Glory. * He took notice of "an old Answer formerly made by a King of *England*, when the alteration of ſome Laws had been deſired of him, *Nolumus leges anglicas mutare*; which, he ſaid, muſt be a miſtake in the impreſſion: that it was impoſſible for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he will not change the Laws; for moſt Kings had changed them often for their own, and their Subjects benefit; but the meaning muſt be, *Nolumus leges Anglia mutari*, We will change them as often as there ſhall be occaſion, but We will not ſuffer them *mutari* to be changed by the preſumption of others, without our conſent. He ſaid, "they

* Let the reader take notice that Mr *Henderſon* is miſtaken in the *Engliſh* ſtory. *Nolumus &c.* was not ſaid by a King, but to him. See *Coke* upon the Statute of *Morton*, Cap. 3.

"did

“did not presume to think of compelling the King to change
 “the Government of the Church; but they hoped he would
 “willingly do it, upon the humble Petition of both King-
 “doms, and for his own, and their benefit. That he should
 “say no more, till he should hear the reasons from the Di-
 “vines on the other side, why his Majesty should not consent
 “to the Advice of his Parliament, since he conceiv’d nothing
 “of Conscience could be alledged against it, because it ap-
 “pear’d by what his Majesty had consented to in *Scotland*,
 “for the utter abolishing of Bishops, that he did not believe
 “in his Conscience, that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary
 “for the support of Christian Religion.

Dr. *Stewart*, with a much better countenance, told the
 Commissioners, “that he hoped and knew, that their Lord-
 “ships were too well acquainted with the Constitution of the
 “Church of *England*, and the Foundation upon which it sub-
 “sisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those Argu-
 “ments which had been made against it. He said, that
 “though he did believe, it was impossible to prove, that a
 “Government, settled and continued without intermission,
 “from the time when Christianity was first planted in *Eng-
 “land*, and under which the Christian Religion had so much
 “flourished, was an unlawful and Anti-Christian Govern-
 “ment; yet that he expected, that they who had sworn to
 “abolish it, and came now to persuade their Lordships to
 “concur with them in pressing the King not join in the same
 “obligation; would not urge a less argument for such their
 “Engagement, than the unlawfulness, and wickedness of that
 “Government, which Conscience obliged them to remove.
 “But Mr. *Braderfon* had wisely declined that Argument;
 “though in their Common Sermons, and other Discourses in
 “Print, they gave it no better Style than *Anti-Christian*;
 “and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out
 “from it, and benefit which would result by the Change, of
 “which no judgement could be made; till it might be known
 “what Government they did intend to erect in the place of
 “it; and since the Union with the Foreign Protestant
 “Churches, seem’d to be their greatest reason for the prodig-
 “gious alteration they propos’d, he wish’d that they would
 “set down, which Foreign Church it is, to which they meant
 “to conform, and make their new Government by; for that
 “he was assur’d, that the model which they seem’d to affect to
 “in their Directory, was not like to any of the Foreign Re-
 “form’d Churches now in the World. He said, “though he
 “would not take upon him to censure the Foreign Churches;
 “yet it was enough known, that the most learned Men of
 “those Churches, had lamented that their Reformation was
 “not

"not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of Episcopacy; "which they could not be suffer'd to have: and they had always paid that Reverence to the Church of *England*, which "they conceiv'd due to it, as to the Church to which God "had vouchsafed the most perfect Reformation, because it retains all that was innocent, or venerable in Antiquity. He then enlarg'd upon the original Institution of Episcopacy; using all those Arguments, which are still used by the most Learned Men in those disputes, to prove, that without Bishops there could be no Ordination of Ministers, and consequently no administration of Sacraments, or performance of the Ministerial Functions. He said, "he would not presume to say any thing "of his Majesty's having consented to the abrogation of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, though he knew what his Majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him "in Conscience in this Kingdom, which he had not in that, "his Coronation Oath, by which he was bound to defend the "Rights of the Church; and That alone would make it unlawful for his Majesty to consent to what was proposed, "both in the point of Episcopacy, and the alienation of the "Lands of the Church; which would be direct Sacrilege.

UPON these several points, and what resulted from thence, the Divines on both sides spent all that day, Morning and Afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the next day; only the Commissioners on either side, at the first coming together, Mornings and Afternoons, presented such Papers as they thought fit, upon what had passed in Debate: As, the King's Commissioners desired to know in writing, "whether the Parliament Commissioners did believe that the Government of the Church by Bishops was unlawful? To which they could never obtain a Categorical Answer.

WHEN the last of the three first days was past (for it was near twelve of the Clock at Night) and the *Scottish* Commissioners observ'd that nothing was consented to which they looked for, the Chancellor of *Scotland* enter'd into a long discourse, with much passion, against Bishops, "of the mischief "they had done in all Ages, and of their being the sole Causes "of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the present Troubles in *England*: Remember'd, "that the Arch-Bishop of "Canterbury had pursued the Introduction of the Liturgy and "the Canons into *Scotland*, with so great vehemence, that, "when it was desired, that the publishing them might be suspended for one Month, that the People might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay; but caused it to be enter'd upon the next Sunday, against the advice of many of the Bishops themselves; which

“ put the People into such a fury, that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complain’d, that three days had been now spent in fruitless Debates; and that though their Divines had Learnedly made it appear, that Episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away; and that notwithstanding it was evident, that it had been the cause of great mischief, and the Wisdom of Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom; their Lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one particular of Importance, to give them satisfaction; from which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclination to Peace, which they hoped they would have done; and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent, than were expected.

WHEREUPON the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without some commotion, said, “ that he did not wonder, that their Lordships, who had for some years been accustomed to such Discourses, and the more inclin’d to suppose all that was confidently said to be reasonably prov’d, and so having not been used to converse with any Persons of a contrary opinion, had been brought to consent and approve those alterations, which they had proposed; but that it seem’d very admirable to him, that their Lordships could expect, or imagine it possible, that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said, should depart from a Faith, and a form of Worship, in which they had been educated from their Cradle; and which, upon so long observation, and experience, they looked upon with all possible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed against three days; which would have been much too little time to have warranted a Conversion from much less important opinions, they had so long entertain’d; though their Arguments had Had as much weight as they wanted. He said, “ they were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and inconveniences which they had mention’d, had in truth proceeded from an over vehement desire to overthrow Episcopacy, not from the Zeal to support it: that if the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had been too precipitate in pressing the reception of that, which he thought a Reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made him the more wonder, that they should blame Them, for not submitting to much greater alterations, than were at that time proposed, in three days; when they reproached Him, for not having given Them a whole Month to consider. He said, “ he might assure their Lordships with great sincerity, that they were come thither with
“ all

"all imaginable passion and desire, that the Treaty might conclude in a happy and blessed Peace; as he still hoped it would; but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe, their Lordships brought with them the same honourable and pious Inclinations; though the Instructions, and Commands from those who trusted them, restrain'd them from consenting to what in their own judgements seem'd reasonable. And so, without any manner of reply, both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

THERE happen'd a pleasant Accident on one of these days, which were assign'd for the matter of Religion. The Commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the Fire side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely Cold, in general and casual discourses, One of the King's Commissioners asked one of the other with whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, "why there was not in their whole Directory, any mention at all of the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; and so little of the Lords Prayer; which is only once recommended. The Earl of Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answer'd aloud, and with his usual passion, "that Ho, and many others, "were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had taken up many hours Debate in the House of Commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine Voices; and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the House of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it; and he verily believ'd, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting 'em all; which made many smile, to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the Question, and rejected: And many of the other were troubled; and out of countenance with the reason the good Lord had given for the Exclusion.

*Secondly of
the Militia.*

THE next Subject of the Treaty was the business of the Militia; which their Commissioners positively requir'd, "to be entirely vested in the Parliament, and in such Persons as they thought fit to be confided in. This they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the People from their Fears and Jealousies; which were now much encreased, and were capable of being asswaged by no other means: and delivered a large Paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their Declarations, and as often answer'd in those which had been published by the King. And when the Commissioners of the King, whereof there were four very Eminent in the knowledge of the Law, *Law, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer*, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of Law, or Justice, and asserted it

to be vested in the King by the Law, they never offer'd to alledge any other Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the Militia to be in Them, from which they could not recede; so that the Conferences were very short upon those days, but the Papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the Peace) both publicly and privately insisting "upon having the whole Command of the Militia by Sea, "and Land, and all the Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom at "their disposal; without which they looked upon themselves "as lost, and at the King's Mercy; not considering that He must be at Theirs, if such a Power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them; thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary Security; and believ'd it could proceed from nothing else, but a Resolution to take the highest Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

THEN they entred upon the business of *Ireland*; in which Thirdly of
Ireland. they thought they had the King at a very great advantage; and that his Commissioners would not be able to answer the Charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the Commissioners on the King's part, who had not been well acquainted with those Transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do; and any thing of Grace towards the *Irish* Rebels, was as ungracious at *Oxford*, as it was at *London*; because they knew the whole Kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that Rebellion; "how the King had voluntarily committed "the carrying on that War to the two Houses of Parliament; "that they had Levied great Sums of Money upon the King- "dom for that Service; but finding that it was like to bring "a greater Burthen upon the Kingdom than it could bear, "that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for "the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Money, up- "on assurance of having Land assign'd to them in that King- "dom; out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels, as soon as the Re- "bellion should be suppress'd; and had likewise, by the same "Act, put it out of his Power to make any Peace, or Cessa- "tion with those Rebels, or to grant Pardon to any of them "without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his "Majesty's Subjects had brought in very considerable Sums of "Money, by which they had been able to manage that War "without putting this Kingdom to farther Charge; and God "had so blessed the Protestant Forces there, that they had "subdued and vanquished the Rebels in all Encounters; and, "probably,

"probably, by that time, the whole Rebellion had been ex-
 "tinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his promise, and
 "obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a Cessation with
 "those Execrable Rebels, when they were not able to con-
 "tinue the War; and had call'd over many of those Regi-
 "ments, which the Parliament had sent over against the *Irish*,
 "to return hither to Fight against the Parliament: by means
 "whereof his Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom were in
 "great danger to be destroy'd, and the Kingdom to be entirely
 "possessed by the Papists. They enlarged themselves upon
 "this Subject, with all the invidious insinuations they could de-
 "vise, to make the People believe, that the King was inclined
 "to, and favoured that Rebellion. They demanded, "that
 "the King would forthwith declare that Cessation to be void;
 "and that he would prosecute the War against those Rebels
 "with the utmost fury; and that the Act of Parliament for
 "their reduction, might be executed as it ought to be.

THE Commissioners of the King prepar'd and deliver'd a
 very full Answer in writing to all their Demands; at the de-
 "livery whereof, they appointed the Chancellor of the Ex-
 "chequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which prov'd
 the Counsels that had been taken, just, and necessary. This
 he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the Par-
 "liament were in much Confusion, and the King's Commis-
 "sioners much pleased. He put them in mind of "their bring-
 "ing those very Troops, which were Levied by the King's
 "Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Ireland*,
 "to Fight against the King at *Edge-hill*, under the Command
 "of the Earl of *Essex*; of their having given over the pro-
 "secution of that War, or sending any supply of Armes, Mo-
 "ney, or Ammunition thither; having employ'd those Ma-
 "gazines which were provided for that Service, against his
 "Majesty; inasmuch as the Privy Council of that Kingdom
 "had sent to his Majesty, that he would provide some other
 "way for the preservation of that Kingdom, since they could
 "not be able to support the War any longer, against the
 "United Power of the Rebels: That all Overtures, which
 "his Majesty had made towards Peace, had been rejected by
 "the Parliament; and one hundred thousand pounds, brought
 "in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been sent in one
 "entire Sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and dispose that King-
 "dom to send an Army to Invade This; which they had
 "done, and till then his Majesty had not, in the least degree,
 "swerved from the observation of that Act of Parliament;
 "but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of prosecut-
 "ing the end and intention of that Statute, apply'd it wholly
 "to the carrying on the War against Himself, he thought
 "himself

"himself absolv'd before God and Man, if he did all he could
 "to rescue and defend himself against their Violence, by mak-
 "ing a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing
 "over some Regiments of his own Army from thence, to assist
 "him in *England*: which Cessation had hitherto preserved
 "the Protestants of that Kingdom; who were not able with-
 "out supplies to preserve themselves from the strength and
 "power of the Rebels; which supplies his Majesty could not,
 "and the Parliament would not send; and therefore, if the
 "Protestants there, should hereafter be oppressed by the Re-
 "bels, who every day procur'd assistance from abroad, and
 "so were like to be more powerful, all the Mischiefs and Mi-
 "sery that must attend them, would, before God and Man,
 "be put to the Account of the Parliament; which had de-
 "frauded them of those supplies, which, by his Majesty's care,
 "had been raised, and provided for them; and not to his Ma-
 "jesty, who had done nothing but what he was obliged to do
 "for his own preservation; and if he had not sent for those
 "Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have stayed there with-
 "out a supply of Money, Cloaths, and Provisions; which the
 "Parliament had not yet sent to that part of the Army which
 "remain'd there, and which could by no other way have sub-
 "sisted, but by the benefit, and security of the Cessation.

HE told them, "that all this unjustifiable way of proceed-
 "ing, though it had compelled the King to yield to a Cessa-
 "tion, yet could not prevail with him to make a Peace with
 "the *Irish* Rebels; from whom he had admitted Commis-
 "sioners to attend him with propositions to that purpose; but
 "that, when he found those Propositions and Demands so un-
 "reasonable, that he could not consent to them in Conscience,
 "and that they were inconsistent with the security of his Pro-
 "testant Subjects there, he had totally rejected them, and
 "dismissed their Commissioners with severe and sharp Ani-
 "madversions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant, and
 "Council there, Authority to continue the Cessation longer,
 "in hope that the Rebels there, might be reduced to better
 "Temper; or that his Majesty might be enabled by a happy
 "Peace here, which he hoped this Treaty would produce, to
 "Chastise their odious and obstinate Rebellion: And if the
 "Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient caution that
 "the War should be vigorously prosecuted there against the
 "*Irish*, by sending over strong Supplies of Men and Money,
 "he would put an end to that Cessation without declaring it to
 "be void; which otherwise he could not in Justice do, and the
 "doing whereof would be to no purpose.

THE Commissioners, visibly out of Countenance and An-
 gry, made no other reply, but "that they were sorry to find,
 "that

“that odious and detestable Rebellion had receiv’d so much Grace, as that Commissioners from it had been admitted into the King’s Presence; and that they wonder’d; there should be any scruple made of Declaring that Cessation void, that was entred into expressly against the Letter of an Act of Parliament. This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expressions against the Murthers and Cruelties, that had been used in the beginning of that Rebellion; which obliged the King’s Commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to; and to tell them, That they wisht it were in the King’s Power to punish all Rebellion, with that severity that was due to it; but since it was not so, he must condescend to Treaties, and to all other Expedients which are necessary to reduce his Subjects who are in Rebellion, to return to their Duty and Obedience.

THE nine first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either Party; for though, in the matter of Religion, the King’s Commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige Bishops to be more diligent in Preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their Jurisdiction; yet no such Reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible; that in the matter of *Ireland*, the King’s defence would weigh down their Clamour and Calumny. There happen’d some Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impression on each Party; the first was found in the looks of the Parliament Commissioners, upon the Advertisement they receiv’d, that *Sr Lewis Drives*, who was Governour of a small Garrison in *Sherborn* in *Dorset-shire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King’s Governour of *Portland-Castle*, surpris’d *Weymouth*, a Sea-Port possessed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

BUT whilst the King’s Commissioners entertain’d some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the Parliament to a just Peace, they receiv’d Advertisement of a much greater loss sustain’d by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel *Langborn*, and *Mitten*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament Service; about *Shrop-shire* and *North Wales*, by correspondence with some Townsmen, and some Soldiers in the Garrison of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garrison were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some Expedition, seiz’d
I upon

upon that Town in the Night; and, by the same Treachery, likewise enter'd the Castle; where *Sr Michael Earnly* the Governour had been long sick, and rising, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused Quarter; which did not shorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of Death by a Consumption; which kept him from performing all those Offices of Vigilance he was accusom'd to, being a Gallant Gentleman, who understood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of *Strawbury* was a great blow to the King, and streighten'd his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure Line of Communication with *Chester*, and expos'd all North Wales, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, to the daily inroads of the Enemy: and the News of this, recover'd the dejected Spirits of the Parliament Commissioners at *Uxbridge*.

YET theré had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterprize upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. *Sr Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Shorborne*, intercepted a Packet of Letters sent out of *Somersetshire* to the Parliament; and among those, there was a Letter from *John Pyne*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Estate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a passionate and virulent Temper, of the Independent Party. The Subject of the Letter was a bitter invective against the Earl of *Essex*; and all those who advanced the Treaty of Peace, and a great derestation of the Peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been sent by *Sr Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commissioners at *Uxbridge*; who, as soon as they receiv'd it, communicated it to some of those Commissioners, who they knew desired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Essex*. The Scots were likewise as much inveigh'd against as any Body else. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advis'd, "that the Marquis of *Hertford*, might lend a Copy of it to "his Brother the Earl of *Essex*, with such reflections as He "thought fit: which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Essex*, who was yet General, took it so much to heart that he desired the Marquis of *Hertford* would send him the Original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some Advantage to the Earl of *Essex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved it self with all imaginable decency and respect.

THE Conversation that this Letter occasion'd between
some

some of the Commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament : that there were many who desired to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government, so they might be sure of Indemnity, and security for what was past ; that the *Scots* would insist upon the whole Government of the Church, and in all other Matters would defer to the King ; but that there was another Party, that would have no Peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State , as well as Church ; which made a great Party in the Army : all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the Earl of *Essex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewise, among the Commissioners themselves, very little Trust, and Communication ; *Sr Harry Vane*, *Saint-John*, and *Prideaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the rest ; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant Demand. Besides, there was reason enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly Demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those Persons who had faithfully serv'd the King, and had been by them always excepted, as Persons never to be Pardon'd.

FOR though they had assign'd those three general Heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be first Treated upon, which were all plausible and popular Arguments, and in which they who most desir'd Peace, would insist at least upon many concessions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declin'd any other of their Propositions ; as the exemption of many of the greatest Quality, or of the most declared Affections to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon ; and the making the Estates of the rest, under the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges of the War ; from which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, the Houses had not in their Instructions given their Commissioners Authority, in the least particle to recede : They who desired Peace, being satisfied, that they had prevail'd to have a Treaty, which they imagin'd would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands, would fall off, of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars which more concern'd the publick ; and, on the other side, they who resolv'd the Treaty should be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three Generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the Propositions concerning those parti-

particulars ; being satisfied, that in the particular which concern'd the Church, the *Scots* would never depart from a title ; and as sure, that the King would never yield to it ; and that, in the Militia, they who most desired Peace, would adhere to that which most concern'd their own Security ; and in the business of *Ireland*, besides the opportunity to asperse the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurr'd with them, they were safe enough ; except the King should absolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it, to Their censure, and judgement ; and so dissolve all the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future ; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into Debate ; which would have spent much time, and rais'd great difference in opinion among them ; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the King satisfied them in the Terms of those three Propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest ; which could not relate so much to his Conscience, or his Honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's Condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former Three, they who had most passion for Peace, would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remain'd to be demanded.

ONE Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a visit ; and sat with him some hours ; all his discourse being to persuade him, to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, " that there was never
" such a Pack of Knaves, and Villaines, as they who now
" govern'd in the Parliament ; who would so far prevail, if
" this Treaty were broke off, as to remove the Earl of *Essex* ;
" and then they would constitute such an Army as should
" force the Parliament, as well as the King, to consent to
" whatsoever they demanded ; which would end in the Change
" of the Government into a Common-wealth. The Chancellor told him, " if he believ'd That, it was high time for the
" Lords to look about them, who would be then no less concern'd than the King. He confessed it, and " that they
" were now sensible, that they had brought this mischief upon
" themselves ; and did heartily repent it, though too late ; and
" when they were, in no degree, able to prevent the general
" destruction, which they foresaw : but, if the King would be

“so gracious to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable Propositions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked Persons would be disappointed by such his concessions; the Earl of *Essex* would still keep his power; and they should be able, in a short time after the Peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive these wicked Men, who would destroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom; and then his Majesty would be greater than ever. How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were Men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the King's Commissioners, with whom they had the same confidence: so broken they were in their Spirits, and so corrupted in their Understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their View.

THE Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudest Man alive, could not look upon the Destruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then encreased, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly receiv'd at *Oxford*, upon his Addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolv'd no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King's Power and Authority so much restrain'd, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

THE Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were so totally without credit, or interest in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way Their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevailed, was so much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wished They might rather be destroy'd than the King, they had rather the King and his Posterity should be destroy'd, than that *Wilton* should be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfield* from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believ'd to be the highest point of prudence, and politick circumspection.

THE Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and saw farther before him into the desperate designs of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his Ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had conversed too long.

long. Though he had receiv'd from them most signal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he should never more be employ'd by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compell'd to yield to worse conditions than were now offer'd to Him. He conferr'd with so much freedom with one of the King's Commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great Friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his Companions. With Him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that he would most willingly redeem his Transgressions by any attempt that might serve the King signally, though he were sure to lose his Life in it; but that to lose Himself, without any benefit to the King, would expose him to all misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his Party. He inform'd him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then govern'd the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagin'd; and had a full prospect of the vile condition Himself, and all the Nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by losing his Life, he might preserve the King, he would embrace the Occasion; otherwise, he would trust the best he could for himself.

OF the Commissioners of the House of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a Peace, and upon much honest conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those Commissioners of the King's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own Companions, use that freedom. The Debate that had been in the House upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raised so many Jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, professed to have most devotion for the Earl of *Essex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately seem'd to concur in that Ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others who seem'd still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

HOLLIS, who was the frankest among them in owning his

his Animosity and Indignation against all the Independent Party, and was no otherwise affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a Party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appear'd most resolute to concur with him, would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abounded. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurr'd with them without any Inclinations to their Persons, or their Principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his Estate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or submit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he us'd his old openness, and professed his detestation of all the proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their Counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appear'd now to have contracted more bitterness, and sourness than formerly; and were more reserv'd towards the King's Commissioners, than was expected; and in all Conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the King must yield to whatsoever was required in the three Demands, which had been Debated. They all valued themselves." upon having induced the Parliament, against all Opposition, to consent to a Treaty; "which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit; and it plainly appear'd, that they had perswaded themselves, that, in the Treaty, they should be able to perswade the King's Commissioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very same argument, and expectation, that the Earl of *Pembroke* had offer'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SOME of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the Commissioners, or, if They could be corrupted so far in their judgements, how much more impossib'le it would be to perswade the King to consent to what was so diametrically against his Conference, and his Honour; and, in truth, against his Security, did wish, "that, to get the time of the Treaty prolonged, some Concessions might be made in the point of the Militia, in order to their security; which being provided for, might probably take off many Persons, who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to those who they thought were most jealous of it, and most solicitous for it. This seem'd such an Expedient to those to whom they propos'd it, that they thought fit to make a Debate among all the Commissioners about it; "and if it should produce no other effect, than the getting more days to the Treaty, and making more Divisions in the Parliament, both

“which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was
 “not small that would attend it; for, as long as the Treaty
 “lasted, there could be little advance made towards new mo-
 “delling the Army, the delay whereof would give the King
 “likewise more time to make his Preparations for the Field;
 “towards which he was in no forwardness. This considera-
 “tion prevail’d with the Commissioners to send their opinion
 “to the King, “that he would give them leave to propose,
 “when the next day came for the Debate of the point of the
 “Militia, that the whole Militia of the Kingdom should be
 “settled in such a Number of Persons, for seven or eight
 “years, who might be all sworn to the observation of all the
 “Articles which should be agreed upon in the Treaty; after
 “the expiration of which time, which would be sufficient to
 “extinguish all jealousies, it should be restored to the King.
 And they sent the King a List of such Names, as they wish’d
 might be inserted in the Proposition, of Persons in Credit
 with the Parliament, to which his Majesty might add the like
 Number of such, of whose Fidelity he was most assured.

THE Earls of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and *Man-
 chester*, with *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell*, were among those they
 recommended to be named by the King. With this Message
 they sent two of their own Body, who added other reasons,
 which they conceiv’d might prevail with Him; and it was
 with great difficulty that his Majesty was prevailed with to
 consent, that such an Overture should be made. But being
 unwilling to dissent from his Commissioners judgement, and
 believing it would be rejected, and in hope that it would
 gain time by lengthning the Treaty, his Majesty was con-
 tented, that the Commissioners should make such an Offer as
 is mention’d, and name the Persons they had propos’d of the
 Parliament Party; and withal, he sent a List of such Per-
 sons as himself thought fit to trust in that Affair; in whom,
 together with the others, he would have the power of the
 Militia to be vested. But by this time, the Term assign’d for
 the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had at first ad-
 vis’d this Expedient, had not the same opinion of the suc-
 cess; and had plainly discover’d, that the Parliament would
 not consent to add one day mote to the Treaty. So the far-
 ther prosecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aside.
 For the King’s Commissioners concluded, “that at this time
 “to offer any particular Names from the King to be trusted
 “with the Militia, was but to expose those Persons to re-
 “proach, as some of them were very ungracious and unpo-
 “pular to them; and to give the other side an excuse for re-
 “jecting the offer, upon exception to their Persons. How-
 ever, that they might see a greater condescension from the

King in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offer'd, "that the Militia should be so settled for the "space of seven years, as they had desired, in such a Number "of Persons as should be agreed upon; a moiety of which "Persons, should be nominated by the King, and the other "moiety by the Parliament: which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

FROM this time the Commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserv'd, and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last Conferences, the Answers and Replies upon one another, were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their Conference upon the last day, which held most part of the Night, it was evident, either side labour'd most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The King's Commissioners deliver'd a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and observ'd, "that after a War of so many years, enter'd into, as was pre- "tended, for the Defence, and Vindication of the Laws of "the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of "twenty days, they had not demanded any one thing, that, "by the Law of the Land, they had the least Title to de- "mand; but insisted only on such particulars as were against "Law, and the establish'd Government of the Kingdom; "and that much more had been offer'd to them for the ob- "taining of Peace, than they could with justice or reason "require: with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the Paper, upon pretence, "that "the time for the Treaty was expired; because it was then after twelve of the Clock of the Night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be less publick, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted a little before the break of day.

*The end of
the Treaty
without ef-
fect.*

THE next day, being *Sunday*, they rested in the Town, that they might in the Afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that Season of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the Commissioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declared, "that they might safely make use of an- "other day for their return, of which no Advantage should "be taken. But they having on *Sunday*, perform'd their mutual Visits to each other, parted with such coolness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the King's Commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday* Morning so early in their Coaches,

11. 13. 14. Pet. Heylin wrote also on this occasion a tract in 4. 11. 14.
1643. ext. A letter to a Gent. in Leicestershire abt. year of Ux. Dec. 8. 4.
met. in Wood. Ac. of the work in Lyth. Ox. ad. 1662. p. 24.

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

601

Coaches, that they came to Oxford that Night, and kiss'd the King's hand; who receiv'd them very graciously; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their Lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the Morning. Besides, They were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to Oxford; so that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the Commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to Oxford. Thus ended the Treaty of Uxbridge, the particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, shortly after published in Print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

THE King spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own Condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was attended with many ill Consequences; and that which had seem'd to bring some kind of recompence for it, the Surprise of *Weymouth*, prov'd but a Dream; for the Enemy had lost but one part of the Town, which they, in a short time after, recover'd again by the usual Negligence of the King's Governours. So that his Majesty told them, "He found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his Son from himself, that the Enemy might not, upon any Success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm. He seem'd to have very reasonable Apprehensions, that upon the loss of a Battle, he might become a Prisoner; but he never imagin'd, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; not that he believ'd they could be restrain'd from that Impious Act, by any remorse of Conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design, and execute it: but he believ'd it against their Interest; and would often, in discourse, say, "of what moment the preservation of his Life was to the Rebels; and how much they were concern'd to preserve it, in regard, that if he Himself were dead the Parliament stood dissolv'd; so that there would be an end of their Government: which, though it were true in Law, would have little shaken their Power, of which they were too long possess'd to part with it easily.

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THIS

* viz at Oxford in 1645
in pp.
in 1681 were reprinted
by annex'd to S. W. Digby's
Daily Short View of the
late troubles in England
vol. 1681. at Oxford.

THIS was a speculation of that Nature, that no body had reason to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular; and his Majesty thought of nothing so much as hastning the Prince's Journey; and to that purpose, Commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, resolving that his Highness should make his Journey directly to *Bristol*, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an Army in the West, the King had no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any such Army; and though *Goring* had prevail'd to be sent, with a strong Party of Horse, and some Foot, into *Hampshire*, upon pretence of securing the West from *Waller's* Incurſion, and upon some other design; yet the King had not the least purpose, that he should be where the Prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw himself from the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majesty having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol* to provide a House for his Highness, and to put that City into as good a posture of Security for the Prince's residence, as was necessary; nor was there any other Strength design'd to attend about his Highness's Person, than one Regiment of Horse, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewise to raise them upon his own Credit and Interest; there being, at that time, not one Man raised of Horse or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's Family, or his Person. In so great scarcity, and poverty, was the King himself, and his Court at *Oxford*.

THERE happen'd an Accident at this time, that reconcil'd the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the West, and look'd like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it prov'd afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King return'd through *Somersetshire*, after the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, there had been a Petition deliver'd to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the County of *Somerset*, in which they desired, "that his Majesty would give them leave to Petition "the Parliament, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; "and that they might have liberty to wait upon his Majesty "in Person in his march; and that when they came to a "nearer distance, they might then go before, and deliver their
"Petition;

"Petition; and if they should not obtain their so just Request, they would then assist his Majesty to get that by the Sword, which could be obtain'd no other way. To that purpose, they desired leave "to put themselves in Arms, to attend his Majesty in the Journey. This Petition, how indigested, or impracticable soever in the manner, and way proposed, was contriv'd by some Persons of unquestionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this specious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole Populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he most desired. But his Majesty's speedy march, left that design to be better weighed and digested.

UPON the first Fame of the Prince's being to visit the West, and to keep his Court there, some Gentlemen, of the best Quality in the West, came to *Oxford*, as entrusted by the rest to acquaint his Majesty, "that they had now form'd the Design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four Western Counties, *Derbyshire*, *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, had resolv'd to enter into an Association, and to be joyn't Petitioners to the Parliament for Peace; and that their Petition should be sent by very many thousands of the most substantial Freeholders of the several Counties, who should have Money enough in their Purses to defray their Charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to joyn in the Petition, should be looked upon as Enemies to Peace and their Country, and accordingly treated; so that this Address could not but have great influence upon the Parliament, being under the Style of One and All; and could not but be look'd upon as such. They desired the King, "that the Prince might be made General of this Association; in order to which, they would provide for his support according to his Dignity; and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good Guard of Horse and Foot, for the safety of his Person.

THOUGH this design, in the Notions thereof, was as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majesty thought not fit to discountenance, and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many Persons of Quality, in the name of the four Western Counties, and among those who took it most to heart, *Sr John Stawel* was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of the largest Estates, that any Man possessed in the West, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, shew'd very great Affection to the Person of the King, and to the Government that was settled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning

beginning of the War had engaged both his own Person, and his two Sons, in the most active part of it, with singular Courage; and had render'd himself as odious to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had done. This Gentleman was assisted, and counsell'd by Mr *Fountain*, a Lawyer of Eminency, who had been imprison'd, and banish'd *London*, for his declar'd Affection to the Crown; and they two had first entertain'd and form'd this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found such a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolv'd, and believ'd all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from Peace; so that the King concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Association; which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make Provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his Guards of Horse and Foot; and to that purpose made hast to *Bristol*, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

The Prince of Wales made General of the King's Forces, and of the Western Association.

UPON these reasons, the Prince had two Commissions granted to him; one, to be General of the Association; and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declared his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highness desired, "that there might be no General in *England* but the Prince of *Wales*, and that he might receive his Commission "from Him; which his Majesty took well; and so that Commission of Generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolv'd he should Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Bristol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better discern'd.

THE Indisposition and Melancholy which possessed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was preserv'd from despair, only by the extraordinary Discontents and Animosities in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had had by united Counsels. As soon as the Commissioners were return'd from *Uxbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent Party (for so they were now contented to be call'd, in opposition to the other which was styl'd Presbyterian) appear'd bare-faced, and vigorously press'd on their *Self-denying Ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the suspension whereof, there

there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those Provisions, which would be necessary for taking the Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of *March*, which was used as a strong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, "from the Season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the Ordinance, that the Army might be put into a posture of marching; the other pressing, "that so great an Alteration ought not to be attempted, when there was so short a time to make it in: That there would be apparent danger, that the Enemy would find them, without any Army at all fit to take the Field; and therefore desired, "that all things might stand as they were, till the end of the next Campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might resume this Expedient. The other Party were loud against the delay; and said, "that was the way to make the War last; for managed as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next Campaign in the same posture they were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this Ordinance was pass'd, they should proceed so vigorously, that the next Campaign should put an end to the War.

THE Debate continued many days in the House of Commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon Things, and Persons; whilst the House of Peers look'd on, and attended the resolution below. Of the Presbyterian Party, which passionately oppos'd the Ordinance, the chief were, *Hollis, Stapleton, Glyn, Waller, Long*, and others, who believ'd their Party much Superior in Number; as the Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin*, and others; who spoke more and warmer than they that oppos'd them. Of the House of Peers, there was none thought to be of this last Party, but the Lord *Say*; all the rest were supposed to be of the Earl of *Essex's* Party; and so, that it was impossible that the Ordinance should ever pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried by the Commons: But they were in This, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any Peace, except the King were first at their Mercy, and so oblig'd to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War: and many, who thought the Earl of *Essex* behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be anger'd, and humbled, that Himself might be more concern'd to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the Supreme Command.

WHEN

WHEN the Debate grew ripe, *Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock,* and *Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Essex*, appear'd for passing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counsels, and to resist the Common Enemy; saying, "they discover'd by what they heard abroad, "and by the Spirit that govern'd in the City, that there would "be a general dissatisfaction in the People, if this Ordinance "were not pass'd. Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Essex*, extolling his great merit, and seem'd to fear, "that the War would never be carried on so happily, as "it had been under Him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to his Conduct, and Courage, "which had form'd their Armies, and taught them to Fight. By this kind of Oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for Peace and Unity, they so far prevail'd over those who were still surpris'd, and led by some Craft, that the Ordinance was pass'd in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their Consent; where no body imagin'd it would ever pass.

The Self-denying Ordinance pass'd the Commons.

AFTER the Battle at *York*, and that the Earl of *Manchester* was required to march with his Army against the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwal*, the *Scotish* Army marched Northward, to reduce the little Garrisons remaining in those parts; which was easily done. After which they marched to *New-Castle*; which, being defended only by the Townsfolk, and in no degree fortified for a Siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such People. So that they having no more to do in those parts, the Parliament thought not fit however to dismiss them to return into their own Country, not knowing yet, how far their new modell'd Army would be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore the *Scotish* Army was again advanced as far as *York*, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

An account of the Earl of Mountrose's Expedition into Scotland.

THE King had formerly, towards the end of the year forty three, consider'd how to give such a disturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army to stay at home to quench a Fire in their own Country; but all the Advance, which had been made towards the execution of that design, in the Conferences with the Earl of *Mountrose* and in the Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been check'd for some time, by the King's not being able to give any Troops to that Earl, by the Protection whereof the Loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his Assistance, and discover their Affection to his Majesty. Notwithstanding which, the vigorous Spirit of the Earl of *Mountrose*, had stirr'd him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Person whom that

that Earl most hated, and condemn'd, was the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation, that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his Estate and Authority, a very great Interest in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than insolent and imperious Persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

THE Earl of *Mountrose* believ'd that his getting safely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raise Men enough there to controul the Authority of *Argyle*. There was, at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Antrim*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, within few years after the death of that Favourite. By the possession of Her ample Fortune, he had liv'd in the Court in great expence and some lustre, until his Riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, besides her own great extraction and Fortune, as Heiress to the House of *Rutland*, and Wife and Mother to the Dukes of *Buckingham*, of a very great wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts, of her present Husband (a handsome Man too) well enough receiv'd in all places: so that they had liv'd in *Ireland* in splendour, as they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again from thence, to find a livelyhood out of her own Estate in *England*. And upon the Queen's first coming to *Oxford*, She likewise came thither; where She found great respect from all. The Earl of *Antrim*, who was a Man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his Wife, than he betook himself to the Rebels, with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be look'd upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was so uneasy and torturing an Ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of His presence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Macdonnell*, who was fast to their Party, and in their most secret Counsels.

THE Earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his Station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Protestant

Protestant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and so to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was; and made his presence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Irish* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to serve the King, and to dispose the *Irish* to a Peace, if he should have any countenance from the King; which his Majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Argyle* His in *Ireland*, must be left to the determination of those that are skill'd in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonnells*; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of those Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were possessed by *Argyle*; and the greatest part of his Estate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulster* that lies next *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the same Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, disposed the Earl of *Mountrose* to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to *Oxford*, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be such a foundation for raising Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Enterprize he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery, they had long endured under the Tyranny of *Argyle*. The passage over the Sea in those places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is so narrow, that the People often make their Markets in one and the other, in the space of few hours; and the hardness of both People is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet, or cloathing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to constitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Armes, or Victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practiced in those parts.

THE Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the King should believe him to be a Man of interest and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he discover'd by the Earl of *Mountrose*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertain'd a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the Earl of *Mountrose*, "that, if the King would grant him
"a Commission, he would raise an Army in *Ireland*, and
"transport it into *Scotland*; and would himself be in the
"head of it; by means whereof he believ'd all the Clan of the
"Macdonnells

“ *Macdonnells* in the Highlands of *Scotland*, might be perswad-
 “ ed to follow him. When the Earl of *Mountrose* had form’d
 such a reasonable undertaking, as he believ’d the Earl of *An-*
trim might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted
 the Lord *Digby* with it, who was a friend to all difficult de-
 signs, and desired him “ to propose it to the King, and to let
 “ his Majesty know, that he was so confident of the Earl of
 “ *Antrim*’s being able to perform what should be necessary
 “ (for he would be very well content, if he would send over
 “ a Body but of two thousand Men into *Scotland*, which he
 “ well knew he could easily do) that he would himself be in
 “ the Highlands to receive them; and run his fortune with
 “ them; if his Majesty would give him leave to gather up
 “ such a Number of his Country-men about *Oxford*, as would
 “ be willing to accompany him; with whom he would make
 “ his way thither; and that, if no time were lost in prosecut-
 “ ing this design, he did hope that by the time the *Scottish* Ar-
 “ my should be ready to take the Field, they should receive
 “ such an Alarm from their own Country, as should hinder
 “ their advance.

UPON this Overture, the King conferr’d with the two
 Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to
 undertake the raising as many Men as should be desired, if he
 might have the King’s Commission to that purpose; and know-
 ing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Interest
 enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountrose* as confidently as-
 suring his Majesty, “ that with two thousand Men Landed in
 “ the Highlands, he would quickly raise an Army, with which
 “ he could disquiet that Kingdom; and the design being more
 probable, than any other that could be propos’d to the same
 purpose, his Majesty resolv’d to encourage it all he could, that
 is, to give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor
 Armes, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree.
 The great objection, that appear’d at the first entrance into it,
 was, “ that though the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulster*,
 “ and among the Roman Catholicks, he was very odious to
 “ the Protestants, and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, many
 “ things being discover’d against him of his correspondence
 “ with the Rebels, which were not known when he came into
 “ *England*. But that which gave most Umbrage (for no body
 suspected his conjunction with the Rebels) was his declar’d
 “ Malice to the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 “ and the contempt the Marquis had of him, who would there-
 “ fore undervalue any Proposition should be made by him, be-
 “ ing a Man of so notorious a levity and inconstancy, that
 “ he did not use to intend the same thing long. There could
 “ be no trusting him with any Commission independent upon
 “ the

“the Marquis of *Ormond*, or allowing him to do any thing in
 “*Ireland* without the Marquis’s Privity, and such a limitation
 “would by no means be grateful to him. And though the be-
 “nefit, the King’s Friends in *Scotland* would receive by the
 “carrying away any Body of Men out of *Ulster*, would be a
 “great lessening and abatement of the strength of the *Irish*
 “Rebels, who had the Command over those parts, yet if the
 “Earl of *Aurtrim*, under any Authority from the King, should
 “indiscreetly behave himself (as no Man who lov’d him best,
 “had any confidence in his discretion) all the reproaches cast
 “upon his Majesty, of his countenancing those Rebels, would
 “receive the greatest confirmation imaginable.

THE foresight of these difficulties gave life to an Intrigue in the Court, which for some time had not succeeded. *Daniel O Neile* (who was in subtlety and understanding much superior to the whole Nation of the old *Irish*) had long labour’d to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well known to the Court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the Winter Season in the one, and the Summer always in the Army in the other; as good an Education towards advancement in the World, as that Age knew. He had a fair Reputation in both Climates, having a competent Fortune of his own, to support himself without dependence, and a natural Insinuation, and Address, which made him acceptable in the best Company. He was a great observer, and discernor of Mens Natures and Humours, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the Troubles begun in *Scotland*, he had, with the first, the Command of a Troop of Horse; to which he was by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in the most Active Armies of that time, and a Courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his Honour required it, or his particular Interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

IN the second Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Command, and some part in most of the Intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with those who most design’d the destruction of the Earl of *Strafford*; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his Nation: yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he enter’d very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at Court, with less circumspection than both the Season, and the weight of the Affair required. And in this Combination, in which Men were most concern’d for themselves, and to receive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he
 had

had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-chamber, when a vacancy should happen. When the Civil War begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the Parliament upon a Charge of High Treason, chose rather to be Lieutenant Colonel of Horse to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater Officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an Interest in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to those who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions, and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those Foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole Authority to have supervised, and directed. When he saw some of his Fraternity promoted to Offices and Honours, who had not ventur'd, or suffer'd more than He (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dextrously, in a Ladies dress, he had been in manifest danger of his Life) and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the Bed-Chamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very solicitous with the King on his behalf, being conscious to her self, that he had been encouraged by Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his Friends, or by the Queen her self; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This, *O Neile* took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the Army was less pleasant to him, by Prince *Rupert's* withdrawing his Graces from him.

THE design of the Earls of *Montrose* and *Aurim*, which was yet wholly managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*, who was likewise of intimate Friendship with *O Neile*, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that *O Neile*, whether by Alliance, or Friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of *Aurim* than any Man; and that by the ascendent he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which he was Superior to most Men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormonde* lov'd *O Neile* very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve"

"him in the perplexities he sustain'd concerning the Conduct
 "of the Earl of *Antrim*; and then propos'd, "the sending
 "O *Neile* with him; who should first dissuade him from affect-
 "ing to have any Commission Himself to Act in *Ireland*; and
 "then incline him to depend upon the Assistance and Autho-
 "rity of the Marquis of *Ormond*; who should be required by
 "the King to contribute all he could, for the making those
 "Levies of Men, and for impressing of Ships, and other Ves-
 "sels for their Transportation into the Highlands; and then,
 "that he should go over himself with the Earl, and stay with
 "him during his abode in *Dublin*; by which he might begin,
 "and preserve a good Intelligence between Him and the
 "Marquis of *Ormond*; and dispose the Marquis of *Ormond*
 "to gratify him, in all things that might concern so impor-
 "tant a Service; which, besides the Letters he should carry
 "with him from the King, his own credit with the Marquis,
 "and his singular Address, would easily bring to pass.

THIS Proposition was very agreeable to the King, who
 knew O *Neile* was equal to this business; and the Lord *Digby*
 did not in the least insinuate any design for O *Neile's* advan-
 tage in the Service, which would have diverted the Negotia-
 tion: thereupon his Majesty himself spoke to him of the whole
 design, the Lord *Digby* desiring he would do so, pretending
 that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being
 not sure of his Majesty's Approbation. He receiv'd it as a
 thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked
 him, "whether he thought the Earl had interest enough in
 "those parts of *Ireland*, to Levy and Transport a Body of
 "Men into the Highlands? he Answer'd readily, "that he
 "knew well, that there were so many there, where the Earl's
 "Estate lay, who depended absolutely upon him, that there
 "would be Men enough ready to go thither, or do what he
 "required them: and that the Men were hardy and stout for
 "any Service; but the drawing a Body of them together, and
 "Transporting them, would require, he doubted, more power
 "than the Earl himself had, or could be Master of. He said,
 "there were two Objections in view, and a third, that he
 "was not willing, for many reasons, to make. The first was,
 "that nothing of that Nature could be done without the Au-
 "thority and Power of the Marquis of *Ormond*, which, no
 "doubt, would be applied to any purpose his Majesty should
 "direct; yet that the Earl of *Antrim* had behaved himself so
 "indiscreetly towards the Marquis, and so unhandfomly dis-
 "obliged him, that it could not but be the severest Command
 "his Majesty could lay upon the Marquis, to enter into any
 "kind of conjunction, or conversation with that Earl. The
 "second was, that, though the Earl's Interest could make as
 "many

“many Men as he desired, to enter into any Action or Engagement he would prescribe, he much doubted the *Irish* Commander in Chief, who had the Military power of those parts, would hardly permit a Body of those Men, which they reckon’d their best Soldiers, to be Transported; and thereby their own strength to be lessen’d; which was an objection of Weight; and not mention’d before to the King, nor consider’d by him. He said, “he was unwilling to make another objection, which reflected upon a Person so dear to him, and for whom he would at any time lay down his Life; which was, that he much fear’d the Earl of *Antrim* had not steadiness of mind enough to go through with such an Undertaking, which otherwise would be as easy as honourable.

THE King, well satisfied with the Discourse he made, told him, “that he was not Himself without the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to secure the business, if he would undertake the Journey with him, by which all his fears would be compos’d; His Counsel would govern the Earl in all things, and his credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*, which should be improv’d by his Majesty’s recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the Earl. The King added, “that the Service it self was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his Crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he saw little hope of Success, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be Unrewarded. O *Neile* seem’d wonderfully surpris’d with the Proposition, and in some disorder (which he could handsomely put on when he would) said, “that he would never disobey any Command his Majesty would positively lay upon him; but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, to receive such a Command, as would deprive him of attending upon his Majesty in the next Campaign, where he was sure there must be a Battle; from which he had rather lose his life than be absent. Then he said, “though the Earl of *Antrim* was his Kinsman, and his Friend, and one who, he thought, lov’d him better than he did any other Man, yet he was the last Man in *England* with whom he would be willing to joyn in any Enterprize; mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and Weakness, and many Infirmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a Wiser Man should have the application of his Interest; which he knew must be himself. The King renew’d his desire to him, to undertake the Service, as the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the Lord *Digby*, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the Earl of

Antrim to communicate the Affair to him, and to wish his Assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King suspected it not.

THE Lord *Digby* had now brought the business to the state he wish'd; and, within two or three days, told the King "how glad the Earl of *Antrim* was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with *O Neile*; and desired nothing more than that his Majesty would command him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen the Person, who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been first recommended to him. The Earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken Notice of the Difficulty he might find to draw his Men out of the *Irish* Quarters, by the opposition of those who Commanded there in chief; but, he said, if the King would make *O Neile* go with him, all that difficulty would be remov'd; for *Owen O Neile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, was the General of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and incomparably the best Soldier, and the Wisest Man that was among the *Irish* Rebels, having long serv'd the King of *Spain* in *Flanders* in very eminent Command; and the Earl said, that he was sure *Daniel* had that credit with his Uncle, that he would not refuse at his request, to connive at what was necessary for the Earl to do, which was all he desired.

THE Lord *Digby* left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserv'd, to advance the Counsel he had given for employing *O Neile*; whom he took occasion then to Magnify again; and told the King, that he had already convinced the Earl of *Antrim*, of the folly of desiring any other Commission, than what the Marquis of *Ormonde* should find necessary to give him; and how impossible it was for him to have any success in that design, without the chearful concurrence, and friendship of the Marquis: which the Earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advised, to compass it. But after all this, he lamented "*O Neile's* obstinate aversion to undertake the Journey, for many reasons; who, he said, had engaged him, under all the obligations of the Friendship that was between them, to prevail with his Majesty, that he might not be absent from his charge in the Army, in a Season when there must be so much Action, and when his Majesty's Person, whom he so dearly lov'd, must be in so great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he could not honestly move his Majesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so possessed of the necessity

“ of

“of his going into *Ireland* with the Earl, that he should
 “despair of the whole Enterprize, which was the most hope-
 “ful he had in his view, if he did not chearfully submit to
 “act his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all he had
 “said, by which he had shut out all farther importunity to-
 “wards himself, his Majesty must expect to be very much
 “struggled with; and that *O Neile* would lay himself at his
 “feet; and get all his Friends to joyn with him in a supplica-
 “tion for his Majesty’s excuse; and that there was no more
 “to be done, but that his Majesty, with some warmth, should
 “Command him to desist from farther importunity, and to
 “comply with what he should expect from him; which, he
 “said, he knew would silence all farther opposition: for that
 “*O Neile* had that entire resignation to his Majesty’s pleasure,
 “that he would rather dye than offend him. Upon which,
 “and to cut off all farther Mediation, and Interposition, the
 “King presently sent for him, and graciously conjur’d him, with
 “as much passion as he could shew, “to give over all thoughts
 “of excuse, and to provide for his Journey within three or
 “four days.

ALL things being thus disposed; and the King expecting
 every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would take their leaves,
 the Lord *Digby* came to him, and said, “Mr *O Neile*, had an
 “humble Suite to his Majesty at parting; which to him did
 “not seem unreasonable, and therefore he hoped his Majesty
 “would raise the Spirits of the poor Man, since he did be-
 “lieve in his Conscience, that he desired it more for the ad-
 “vancement of his Majesty’s Service, than to satisfy his own
 “Ambition. He put him in mind of the “long pretence he
 “had to be Groom of his Bed-Chamber, for the which he
 “could not choose but say, that he had the Queen’s promise,
 “at the same time when *Piercy*, and *Wilmot* had the like for
 “their Honours, which they had since receiv’d the accom-
 “plishment of: That his Majesty had not yet rejected the
 “Suite, but only deferr’d the granting it; not without giving
 “him leave in due time to hope it: That there could not be
 “so proper a Season as this, for his Majesty to confer this
 “Grace: That Mr *O Neile* was without a Rival, and, in the
 “Eyes of all Men, equal to his pretence; and so no Man
 “could be offended at the Success: That he was now upon
 “an employment of great Trust, chosen by his Majesty as the
 “only Person who could bring an Enterprize of that vast ex-
 “pectation to a good end, by his Conduct and Dexterity:
 “That it must be a Journey of great expence, besides the haz-
 “ard of it; yet he asked no Money, because he knew there
 “was none to be had; he begged only, that he might de-
 “part with such a Character, and Testimony of his Ma-
 “jesty’s

"jeſty's favour and good opinion, that he might be thereby
 "the better qualified to perform the truſt that was repoſed
 "in him: That the conſerring this Honour upon him, at this
 "time, would encreaſe the Credit he had with the Earl of
 "*Antrim*, at leaſt confirm his unconfant Nature, in an ab-
 "ſolute confidence in him: It would make him more confi-
 "derable to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and the Council there,
 "with whom he might have occaſion often to confer about
 "his Maſteſty's Service; but above all, it would give him that
 "Authority over his Country-men, and would be ſuch an
 "obligation upon the whole *Iriſh* Nation (there having ne-
 "ver yet been any *Iriſh*-man admitted to a place ſo near the
 "Perſon of the King) that it might produce unexpected
 "effects, and could not fail of diſpoſing *Owen O Neile*, the
 "General, to hearken to any thing his Nephew ſhould ask
 "of him.

How much reaſon ſoever this diſcourſe carried with it,
 with all the inſinuations a very powerful Speaker, could add
 to it in the delivery, the Lord *Digby* found an averſion, and
 wearineſs in the King all the time he was ſpeaking; and
 therefore, as his laſt effort, and with a Countenance as if he
 thought his Maſteſty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that
 "he doubted his Maſteſty would too late repent his averſion
 "in this particular; and that Men ought not to be ſent upon
 "ſuch Errands, with the ſharp ſenſe of any diſobligation:
 "That if his Maſteſty pleaſed, he might ſettle this Affair in
 "ſuch a manner as *O Neile* might go away very well pleaſed,
 "and his Maſteſty enjoy the greateſt part of his reſolution:
 "That *O Neile* ſhould not be yet in ſo near an attendance
 "about his Perſon; That the Employment was full of hazard,
 "and would require a great expence of time: That he was a
 "Man of that Nature, as would not leave his buſineſs half
 "done, and would be aſhamed to ſee his Maſteſty's face, be-
 "fore there were ſome very conſiderable effect of his Acti-
 "vity and Induſtry; and conſidering what was to be done in
 "*Ireland*, and the poſture of Affairs in *England*, it might be
 "a very long time before *O Neile* might find himſelf again in
 "the King's preſence, to enter upon his Office in the Bed-
 "Chamber; and therefore propoſed, "that the hour he was
 "to leave *Oxford*, he might be ſworn Groom of the Bed-
 "Chamber; by which he ſhould depart only with a Title,
 "the effect whereof he ſhould not be poſſeſſed of, before he
 "had very well deſerv'd it, and return'd again to his Ma-
 "jeſty's preſence; which, poſſibly, might require more time
 "than the other had to live. This laſt prevail'd more than
 all the reſt, and the imagination that the other might be well
 ſatisfied with a place he ſhould never enjoy, made his Maſteſty
 conſent,

consent, that, in the last Article of time, he should be sworn before his departure; with which the other was well satisfied, making little doubt but that he should be able to dispatch that part of the business which was incumbent on him, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed-Chamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his Majesty in the Summer following, which was that of forty four.

WHILST this Intrigue was carrying on for Mr O Neile, there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf of the Earl of *Autrim*; for whose Person the King had as little regard or kindness, as for any Man of his rank. The Duchess of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom the King always heard with favour; his Majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former Husband, whom, He thought, she had forgotten too soon. This Lady, being of a great Wit and Spirit, when she found that the King now thought her Husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolv'd he should carry with him some testimony of the King's esteem; which, she thought, would be at least some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the King, "that her Husband was
 "so eclipsed in *Ireland*, by the no-countenance his Majesty
 "had ever shew'd towards him, and by his preferring some
 "who were his equals, to degrees and trusts above him, and
 "by raising others, who were in all respects much inferior to
 "him, to the same Title with him, and to Authority above
 "him, that she believ'd he had not Credit and Interest enough
 "to do the Service he desired to do: That, in that Country,
 "the Lords and Greatest Men had Reputation over their Tenants and Vassals, as they were known to have Grace from
 "the King; and when they were known to be without that,
 "they had no more power than to exact their own just Services. She lamented "the misfortune of her Husband,
 "which she had the more reason to do, because it proceeded
 "from Her; and that, whereas he had reason to have expected, that, by his Marriage with her, he might have
 "been advanced in the Court, and in his Majesty's favour,
 "he had found so little benefit from thence, that he might
 "well believe, as She did, that he suffer'd for it: Otherwise,
 "it would not have been possible for a Person of the Earl of
 "*Autrim's* Estate, and Interest, and so well qualified, as she
 "had reason to believe him to be in all respects, after the
 "expence of so much Money in attendance upon the Court,
 "to be without any mark or evidence of his Majesty's favour;
 "and to return now again in the same forlorn Condition into
 R r 4 " *Ireland*,

"*Ireland*, would but give his Enemies more encouragement "to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance his Majesty's Service. In Conclusion she desired, "that the King would make her Husband a Marquis; without which, she did as good as declare, that he should not undertake that Employment. Though his Majesty was neither pleased with the matter, nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to *Scotland*; which the Earl of *Montrose*, every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave Order for a Warrant to make the Earl of *Aurum* a Marquis.

The Earl of
Montrose
goes privately
into Scotland,
and raises an
Army; and
has great
success.

So He and O *Nile*, being well pleased, begun their Journey for *Ireland*; and at the same time the Earl of *Montrose* took his leave of the King with several Gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Montrose*, after he had continued his Journey two or three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for the Guard of all Passes to meet with him, was found missing one Morning by his Company; who, after some stay and enquiry, return'd back to *Oxford*, whilst that Noble Person, with incredible Address and Fatigue, had not only quitted his Company, and his Servants, but his Horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from whence, by the assistance of Friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet without undertaking any Action, until the Marquis of *Aurum*, by the Countenance and Assistance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over *Alexander Macdonnell*, a stout and an active Officer (whom they call'd by an *Irish* appellation *Caltho*) with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who Landed in the Highlands in *Scotland*, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of *Montrose* was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly publish'd his Commission of being General for the King over all that Kingdom. With this handful of Men brought together with those circumstances remember'd, he brought in so many of his own Country-men to join with him, as were strong enough to Arm themselves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they first Defeated; and every day encreased in power, till he Fought, and prevail'd in so many several Battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of the Kingdom; and did all those stupendous Acts, which deservedly are the Subject of a History by it self, excellently written in Latin by a Learned

Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that History was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the Motions in that Sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of our History, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad Catastrophe.

THE King now found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliament, and the factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince should leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Brissol*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And since the King did at that time, within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believ'd) resolve that the Prince should only keep his Court in the West, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any Martial Action, or being so much as present in any Army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning Men, seem'd then a thing desirable, if his Majesty had remov'd his Court into the West too, either to *Bristol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For since *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both possessed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the head Quarter, it was not so fit that the Court should remain there; which, by the multitude of Ladies, and Persons of Quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place, and the good Fortifications which inclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presum'd, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. If, at this time, a good Garrison had only been left there, and all the Court, and Persons of Quality, remov'd into the West with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the King's Obedience those small Garrisons, which stood out; and the King himself might, by the Spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewise have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of State, but very few of the rest, of what Degree, or Quality soever, who had excellent Accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content

content to have chang'd their Quarters. Besides, the King had that Royal Affection for the University, that he thought it well deserv'd the honour of his own Presence; and always resolv'd, that it should be never so expos'd to the extremity of War, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary Conditions for the preservation of so Venerable a place from Rapine, Sacrilege, and destruction.

THUS that consideration of removing the Court from thence, was only secretly enter'd upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any Publick Debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole Council which was assign'd to attend the Prince, had been oblig'd to have perform'd that Service. But both the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, Men of great Reputation and Authority, excus'd themselves to the King, for not submitting to that his Command, and for desiring to continue still about his Person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his Majesty; to whom he had adher'd with that signal Fidelity and Affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly Married, and engaged in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniencies, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuses, having nam'd them rather to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertain'd upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the West, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the Service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still oblig'd to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince; of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

Sr John Hotham and his Son try'd at a Court of War: Both are condemn'd, and beheaded.

THERE was an Act of Divine Justice about this time executed by those at *Westminster*, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have caus'd very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engag'd; some of whom afterwards did undergoe the same fate. There hath been often mention before of *Sr John Hotham*, who shut the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and refus'd to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attended only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Person of a full and ample Fortune, who was not disturb'd by any Fancies in Religion, had unquestion'd duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State, should

should so foolishly expose Himself, and his Family, of great Antiquity, to comply with the humours of those Men whose Persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But, as his particular Animosity against the Earl of *Strafford*, first engaged him in that Company, so his Vanity and Ambition, and the Concessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them, than his own judgement disposed him to. He had taken upon him the Government of *Holl*, without any apprehension, or imagination, that it would ever make him accessary to Rebellion; but believ'd, that, when the King and Parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that Charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours, which that Party resolv'd to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately Embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disintangle himself, and to wind himself out of the Labyrinth he was in. His Comportment towards the Lord *Digby*, and *Ashburnham*, and his Inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preserv'd him longer in the Government. Besides that they had so constituted the Garrison, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discover'd some alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the Pride and Stubborness of his Nature would not suffer him to submit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that superiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had invested that Lord, and had some inkling of secret Messages between the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and young *Hotham*, they caused both Father and Son to be suddainly seized upon, and sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High Treason.

THOUGH there was Evidence enough against them, yet they had so many Friends in both Houses of Parliament, and some of that Interest in the Army, that they were preserv'd from farther prosecution, and remain'd long Prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; so that they believ'd their Punishment to be at the highest. But when that Party prevail'd that resolv'd to new Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they call'd importunately, that the two *Hotham's* might be tryed at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treason; and they who had hitherto preserv'd them, had now lost their Interest; so that they

they were both brought to their Trial, some little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemn'd to lose their Heads. The principal Charge against the Father was, his suffering the Lord *Digby* to escape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, against the Son, which he had sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*. The vile artifices that were used both before and after their Trial, were so barbarous, and inhuman, as have been rarely practiced among Christians.

THE Father was first condemn'd to suffer upon a day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: The Night before, or the very Morning, that *Sr John Hotham* was to dye, a Reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and "other Ministers of Justice, that no Reprieve should be granted, or allow'd for any Person against whom the sentence of "Death was pronounced, except the same had passed, and "had the consent of both Houses of Parliament; and that if "it passed only by the House of Peers, it should be looked "upon as invalid and void, and execution should not be there- "upon forborne, or suspended. By this accident the Son was brought to his Execution before his Father, upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who dyed with Courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the Parliament, and "their continuance of the War; concluded, "that, as to them, "he was very innocent, and had never been guilty of Treason. The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For the House of Commons, to shew their Prerogative over the Lords, sent an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he should cause him to be Executed that very day, which was two days before the Reprieve granted by the House of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from *Peters*, that he should only be shew'd to the People, and so return'd safe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported, and believ'd, or whether he was broken with despair (which is more probable) when he saw that his Enemies prevail'd so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor Man appear'd so dispirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and suffer'd his ungodly Confessor *Peters*, to tell the People "that he had reveal'd himself to "him, and confess'd his Offences against the Parliament; and so he committed his Head to the block. This was the woful Tragedy of these two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual Nature, that the
immediate

immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humours, and Trans-
actions.

SINCE the last Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Essex* perform'd before he found it necessary to surrender his Commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the Nature of the thing it self, and the Circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a Letter sign'd by the Earl of *Essex*, and sent by a Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penn'd by a Committee of Parliament, and perus'd by both Houses before it was sign'd by their General; who us'd, in all dispatches made by Himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent Letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The Parliament had, some Months before, made an Ordinance against giving Quarter to any of the *Irish* Nation which should be taken Prisoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Irish* Frigats, or such Freebooters as sail'd under their Commission, taken all the Sea Men who became Prisoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea; without distinction of their condition, if they were *Irish*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men perished daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King said nothing, because none of those Persons were in his Majesty's Service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his Majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concern'd on the behalf, and in favour of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

BUT there had been lately, in some Service at Land, some Prisoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Irish*-men, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hanged, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament Soldiers, caus'd Them likewise to be hanged upon the next Tree; which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injustice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Essex* to expostulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had caus'd to be penn'd for him, and to send a Copy of their Ordinance, enclosed in the said Letter, with expressions full of reproach, for his "presumption in making an Ordinance of Theirs, the Argument to justify an Action of "so much inhumanity; which was the first knowledge the
King

King had of any such Declaration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been; from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince *Rupert* return'd such an Answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the day before he receiv'd it, had given up his Commission; but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying, "that they wonder'd it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepared" at *Uxbridge*.

The Prince of Wales sent by the King to reside at Bristol.

IT was upon the fourth of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and, about a Week after, came to *Bristol*; where he was now to act a part by Himself, as the Affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and the Prince might not be expos'd at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength, than was necessary to the security of his own Person; or that indeed he should move farther Westward than that City. His Highness had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercepted, that discover'd a design of *Waller*, who had pass'd by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have surpris'd *Bristol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correspondents fled out of that City, and the rest were so dispirited with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was propos'd. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into so good a Posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend *Waller*; and he himself was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commission upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*.

THUS ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this Book.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K IX.

If. 1. 15.

*And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide
mine eyes from you ; Yea, when you make many
Prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full
of blood.*

If. xxviii. 15.

*For we have made lies our refuge, and under falshood
have we hid our selves.*

WE are now entring upon a time, the representation and description whereof, must needs be the most unpleasant, and ungrateful to the Reader, in respect of the Subject matter of it ; which will consist of no less weakness and folly, on the one side, than of malice and wickedness, on the other ; and the most unagreeable and difficult to the Writer, in regard, that he shall, probably, please very few who acted then upon the Stage of business, but must give very severe Characters of the Persons, and severely censure the Actions of many, who wish'd very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those, who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the Crown : A time, in which the whole stock of Affection, Loyalty, and Courage, which at first alone engaged Men in the Quarrel, seem'd to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of Spirit, contrary to the Natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the Nation : A time, in which they who pretended most publick-heartedness, and did really wish

Introduction
to the Ninth
Book, and the
year 1645.

with the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the publick Peace, and the security of their Master to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of Treachery, or damage towards his Majesty: A time, in which want of discretion, and meer folly, produced as much mischief, as the most barefaced Villany could have done; in which the King suffer'd as much, by the irresolution, and unsteadiness of his own Counsels, and by the ill humour, and faction of his Counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other Men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing Vigorously what was deliberated and resolv'd, as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his Enemies.

ALL these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and expos'd to the naked View, in the Relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise Rule of ingenuity, and integrity, we profess to observe; and thereby leave the Reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole Nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the forwardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion of particular Persons, whose Memories ought to be charged with their own evil Actions, rather than that the Infamy of them should be laid on the Age wherein they liv'd; which did produce as many Men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with the clearness that is necessary to Subject them to Common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the King himself, as shall seem to call both his Wisdom, and his Steadiness into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the Mischiefs which threaten'd him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the Work, with such a freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never sufficiently understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy my self, with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miserable year (which, in truth, produced all that follow'd

in the succeeding years) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, and so let them seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of Divine displeasure, than shew how they proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of Men, not totally abandon'd by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite, and inventions.

BUT I am too far embarked in this Sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to Things, and Persons, and in the examinations of the grounds, and oversights of Counsels, to be now frighted with the prospect of those Materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know my self to be very free from any of those Passions which naturally transport Men with prejudice towards the Persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose Actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a Man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or Personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults, and oversights in the Counsels of this year, with whom I had great Friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things my self which I mention, and therefore can Answer for the Truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the Enemy, out of his own Memorials, and Journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year, would reflect upon some want of resolution in Himself, as well as upon the gross errors, and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. Wherefore as I first undertook this difficult work with His approbation, and by His encouragement, and for His vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a Communication; which is not like to be in this present Age) how difficult it was for a Prince, so unworthily reduced to those streights his Majesty was in, to find Ministers, and Instruments, equal to the great Work that was to Be done; and how unlikely it was for him to have better success under their conduct whom it was then very proper for

him to trust with it; and then, without my being over solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes, and weaknesses, to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a Prince of admirable Virtue, and Piety, but of great parts of Knowledge and Judgement; and that the most signal of his Misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his Nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe, that others discern'd better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful Men, whose affections he believ'd to be unquestionable to his Service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of *Fact*.

WHAT expectation soever there was, that the *Self-denying Ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the Peers; whereby the Earl of *Essex* would still have remain'd General; it did not take up so long Debate there. The Marquis of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and sat with the Commissioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great ascend. He was, in matters of Religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matter of State, and with reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhor'd all thoughts of Peace, and that the King should ever more have the Government, towards whose Person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast Friendship with *Sr Harry Vane*, during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each others Principles in Government. From the time of His coming to the Town, the *Scottish* Commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the Ordinance, or the new modelling the Army: so that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh* (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority, of the three first named, had absolutely govern'd and sway'd that House from the beginning) were to be dispossessed of their Commands, and no Peer of *England* capable of any employment either Martial, or Civil; yet the Ordinance found little Opposition, and the old Argument, "that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that" "it would be of mischievous Consequence to dissent from the" "House of Commons, so far prevailed, that it passed the" "House of Peers likewise; and there remain'd nothing to be" "done, but the Earl of *Essex*'s Surrender of his Commission" "into the hands of the Parliament, from whom he had receiv'd" "it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same" "formality"

The Self-denying Ordinance passes in the House of Lords.

formality in which he had been invested with it. *Fairfax* was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of *Essex* made not haft to furrender his Commiffion; fo that some Men imagin'd, that he would yet have contefted it; but he was not for fuch enterprifes, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advifed, in all the circumftances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houfes in the Painted-Chamber, he fhould deliver his Commiffion; which he did. And becaufe he had no very plausible faculty in expreffing himfelf, he chofe to do it in Writing; which he deliver'd to them; wherein he declared, "with what Affection and Fidelity he had ferv'd them, and as he had often ventur'd his Life for them, fo he would willingly have loft it in their Service; and fince they believ'd, that what they had more to do would be better perform'd by another Man, he fubmitted to their judgement, and reftored their Commiffion to them; hoping they would find an abler Servant: concluding with fome expreffions which made it manifelt that he did not think he had been well ufed, or that they would be the better for the change: and fo left them, and return'd to his own Houfe; whither both Houfes, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the Encomiums, and flattering Attributes they could devife.

By this *Self-denying Ordinance*, together with the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, *Sr William Waller*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Major General *Maffy*, loft their Commands; as *Cromwell* fhould likewife have done. But affoon as the Ordinance was paffed, and before the Refignation of the Earl of *Essex*, the Party that steer'd, had caufed him to be fent with a Body of Horfe into the Weft, to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be abfent at the time when the other Officers deliver'd their Commiffions; which was quickly obferv'd; and thereupon Orders were given, to require his prefent Attendance in Parliament, and that their new General fhould fend fome other Officer to attend that Service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which, it was averr'd that he would be in the Houfe. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for their new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to fucceed thofe who had left their Commands by Virtue of the Ordinance; and likewife in Their places who gave up their Commands, and refufed to ferve in the new Model, who were a great number of their beft Commanders. From this Rendezvous, the General fent to defire the Parliament, "that they would give

St a

"Lieutenants

"Lieutenant General *Cromwell* leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which, he should not be able to perform what they expected from him. The request seeming so reasonable, and being for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another Letter, he desir'd with very much earnestness, "that they would allow *Cromwell* to serve for that Campaign. Thus they compassed their whole design, in being

Cromwell only finds means to keep his Commission, and new Models the Army under Fairfax.

rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, Model'd the Army, and placed such Officers as were well known to Him, and to no body else; and absolutely govern'd the Whole Martial Affairs; as was quickly known to all Men; many particulars whereof will be mention'd at large hereafter.

THOUGH the time spent in passing the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their Army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the Enemy was to make, before they could take the Field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of Recruits against that Season, depended upon the Activity of those to whose Care the providing those Recruits was committed: so that there will be little Occasion to mention anything that was done at *Oxford*, till the Season of the year oblig'd his Majesty to leave that place, and to march with his Army into the Field. Of all the Action that was till that time, the West was the Scene; where the Prince, as soon as he came to *Bristol*, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the Prince's Journey into the West, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by His presence, direction, and authority, the many Factions and Animosities between particular Persons of Quality, and Interest in those Parts, equal in their affections to the King's Service (yet they miserably infested and distracted it) might be compos'd, and reconcil'd; and that the endeavours of all Men who wish'd well, might be united in the advancing and carrying on that publick Service, in which all their joynt happiness and security was concern'd. This Province, besides the Prince's immediate countenance, and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those Affairs. But his Highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a Mischief much more difficult to be master'd, and which, if unmaster'd, must inevitably produce much worse effects, than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, between several Officers of the Army and

Parties,

Parties, which were then in those Countries, whereby their Troops were without any Discipline, and the Country as much exposed to Rapine and Violence, as it could be under an Enemy, and in an Article of time when a Body of the Enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary here, in the entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the Estate of the Western Counties, at the time when the Prince first came to *Bristol*.

The State of the Western Counties, when the Prince of Wales came to Bristol.

THE Lord *Goring* had been sent by his Majesty, before the time of the Prince's coming into the West, with such a Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he desired, into *Hampshire*, upon a design of his own, of making an Incurſion into *Suffex*; where he pretended "he had correspondence; and that very many well affected Persons promised to rise, and declare for the King, and that *Kent* would do the same. And so a Commission was granted to him, of Lieutenant General of *Hampshire, Suffex, Surrey, and Kent*, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon *Christ Church*, in *Hampshire*, a little unfortified Filher-Town; yet was beaten off with loss: So that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*; where his Horse committed the same horrid outrages, and barbarities, as they had done in *Hampshire*, without distinction of Friends or Foes; so that those Parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by Oppression, wished for the access of any Forces to redeem them. Whilst the Lord *Goring* lay fruitlessly in those Parts, a Party of Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of *Vanderdrake* a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of *Taunton*, then blocked up by Colonel *Windham*; and reduced to some streights; and accordingly effected it. About the same time, Sir *Walter Hastings*, Governour of *Portland*, seconded by Sir *Lewis Dives* (who had the Command of *Dorsetshire* as Colonel General) had surpris'd *Weymouth*, and possessed the Forts, and the upper Town, the Rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower Town, divided from the other by an Arm of the Sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those Forces which had relieved *Taunton*, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of *Weymouth*, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Suffex* and *Kent* were not ready for him, was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of *Weymouth*, and *Taunton*, would be speedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*,

whose right it was to Command in those Counties as Field-Marshal of the West, being sent down by the King to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of *Taunton*, was, by special Order, recall'd to *Bristol*, lest there might be dispute of Command between Him and the Lord *Goring*; the one being General of the Ordinance, the other General of the Horse; but the Lord *Hopton* was likewise Field-Marshal of the West, in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commission to Command.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring's* arrival about *Weymouth*, with his full strength of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and Artillery, consisting of above three thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast Importance, was, by most Supine Negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible Number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the lower Town, and who were looked upon as Prisoners at Mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never enquir'd into; but with great plainness, by the Vote of the Country, imputed to General *Goring's* natural want of Vigilance; who thereupon retir'd with his whole strength into *Somerset-shire*. His Highness, upon his arrival at *Bristol*, found the West in this Condition; All *Dorset-shire* entirely possessed by the Rebels, save only what *St Lewis Drives* could protect by his small Garrison at *Sherborne*, and the Island of *Portland*, which could not provide for its own Subsistence: the Garrison of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horse and Dragoons which reliev'd it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in *Somerset-shire*: *Devon-shire* intent upon the blocking up of *Plymouth*, at one end, and open to incursions from *Lyme*, and prejudiced by *Taunton*, at the other end: The King's Garrisons, in all three Counties, being stronger in Fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in Men, or any Provisions to endure an Enemy: whilst the Lord *Goring's* Forces equally infested the borders of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Devon*, by unheard of Rapine, without applying themselves to any Enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornwall* indeed was entire; but being wholly assign'd to the blocking up of *Plymouth*, yielded no supply to any other Service, or to the providing its own Garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an Enemy.

SIR *William Waller* and *Cromwell*, marched together about this time towards the West, and passing through *Wilt-shire*, had routed, and taken the whole Regiment of Horse of Colonel *Long*, the High Sheriff of that County, by his great defect of Courage, and Conduct; and seem'd to intend an attempt upon General *Goring*; who was so much startled with the noise, at a great distance, that he drew his Forces so far West of *Taunton*, that *Vaandricks* had an opportunity to retire
with

with that Body of Horse and Dragoons with which he had reliev'd *Taunton*, to his fellows; whilst the King's Forces reposed themselves upon the borders of *Devon-shire*, the Lord *Goring* himself, and most of his principal Officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at *Exeter*, where they stay'd three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his Horse lying upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill Presage to that People, what they were to expect. But finding that *Sr William Waller* made not that haste he apprehended, having borrow'd such Horse and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he return'd again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highness an account of his Condition.

THE Prince, being attended at *Bristol* by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*: Of his Guards of Horse and Foot, which they assur'd him, for the proportion of that County, should be ready against his coming, not one Man or Horse provided: Of the hundred pound a Week, to be allow'd by them towards his Highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the Lord *Hopton's* own private store, to buy Bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been so particularly, and positively undertaken at *Oxford*, was upon the confidence only of three or four Men, who were govern'd by *Sr John Stawell*, and *Mr Fountain*, without any concurrence from the rest of the Commissioners of that, or the other three Associated Counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of Men or Money, were only busy in making Objections, and preparing Complaints, and pursuing their private Quarrels, and Animosities against others. So they brought, every day, Complaints against this and that Governour of Garrisons, for the Riots and Insolences of the Lord *Goring's* Soldiers, and, "that those parts of the Country which were adjacent to *Sherborne*, and *Bridgewater*, were compell'd to work at those Fortifications; with other particulars, most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and some of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the Prince endeavour'd to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was very sensible of all those disorders, of "which they complain'd; and would redress them, as soon as "they should discern it to be in his Power: that the Forces "under the Lord *Goring* were an Army by themselves, come "down into those Parts, before his Highness; and stay'd then "there for their Protection against the power of *Waller* (which

“was ready to Invade them) and the Garrison of *Taunton*, “which they confessed infested their whole Country; that he “was very desirous that Army might move Eastward, as soon “as they should put themselves in such a posture, as might “render them secure against their Enemies; wished them to “propose any Expedients, how the Fortifications of the Gar- “risons might be finished, without some extraordinary help; “or to propose the most convenient one; and he would joyn “with them; and desired them to proceed in their Levies of “Men, and Money, in the ways agreed on by themselves; “and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him. But notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was rea- sonably proposed, or admitted by them, for the advancement of the Publick Service.

By this time, towards the end of *March*, *Sr William Waller* having advanced with his Horse and Dragoons, by *Bath* to- wards *Bristol*, in hope, as hath been said before, to have sur- prised that City by some Treachery within, and being disap- pointed there, retired towards *Dorset-shire*, and the edge of *Somerset*, adjoining to that County; where *Cromwell* expect- ed him; the Lord *Goring* having, in the mean while, fallen into some of *Cromwell*’s Quarters about *Dorchester*, and taken some Prisoners, and Horses, and disorder’d the rest. Upon a dis- pute between themselves, or some other Orders, *Cromwell* retir’d to joyn with *Sr Thomas Fairfax* towards *Reading*; *Sr William Waller* stay’d in those Parts, to intend the business of the West, but made no hast to advance, expecting some Supplies of Foot by Sea at *Weymouth*. So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to *Bruton*, and sent to the Prince to desire, “that two of his “Council might meet him at *Wells* the next day, to consider, “what course was best to be taken: accordingly the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, the next day, met his Lordship at *Wells*. Where, after long consideration of the whole State of the West, and of the great importance of reducing *Taunton*, with- out which no great matter could be expected from *Somerset-shire*, the Lord *Goring* propos’d, and put the design in writing under his own hand, for the whole method and manner of his proceeding, “that he would leave the gros of his Horse, “and two hundred Foot mounted, in such convenient place, “upon the skirts of *Dorset-shire*, and *Wilt-shire*, as they might “be able to retire to their Body, if the Enemy advanced power- “fully; and that he would himself, with all his Foot, and “Cannon, and such Horse as were necessary, attempt the “taking, or burning of *Taunton*: and to that purpose, desired his Highness, “to send positive Orders to *Sr Richard Greenvil* (who, notwithstanding his Highness’s commands formerly sent to him, and some Orders from the King himself, made not that hast as might

might reasonably be expected) "to advance, and to direct the Commissioners of *Somerset* to give their Personal attendance upon that Service; and in the mean time to take care that sufficient Magazines of Victual, and Provisions, were made for the Soldiers: all which was exactly perform'd by his Highness, the next day after he receiv'd the desires of General *Goring*.

BUT, within three or four days, and before the design upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it appear'd by constant Intelligence, that *Waller* was advancing with a great Body of Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot; and therefore the attempt upon *Taunton* was for the present to be laid aside; and the Lord *Goring* very earnestly desired the Prince to Command *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who was now drawn near to *Taunton*, with eight hundred Horse, and above two thousand Foot, besides Pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwise, to compel them to Fight, if they stay'd in those fast Quarters, where they then were; which was about *Shaftsbury*, *Gillingham*, and those places. The Prince accordingly sent his Commands positively to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, "to advance towards the Lord *Goring*, and to obey all such Orders, as he should receive from his Lordship. But he as positively sent his Highness word, "that his Men would not stir a foot; and that he had promised the Commissioners of *Devon*, and *Corwall*, that he would not advance beyond *Taunton*, till *Taunton* were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place. In the mean time, the Lord *Goring*, very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon *Sr William Waller's* Quarters twice, in less than a Week; and kill'd and took so good a Number, that it was generally believ'd, *Sr William Waller* was lessen'd near a thousand Men by those Rencontres; the Lord *Goring* still declaring, "that he could neither pursue his advantages upon a Party, nor engage the main of the Rebels, without the addition of *Greenvil's* Foot; and he, notwithstanding all Orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, "that, if he had an addition of six hundred Men, he would be in the Town within six days.

WHILST things stood thus, *Sr William Waller*, much weaken'd with these disasters, and the time of his Command being near expired, drew back Eastward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* had notice of his Motion. Whereupon his Highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which General *Goring* himself confessed by his Lettrers, or to engage the Forces under the Command of *Greenvil*, and the other Forces

Forces of those parts, in any Action, before the business of *Taunton* should be over (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of Men, and Money, in that great County) and on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced (as *Sr Richard Greenvil* undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had view'd it, thought it not a work of time) besides the terror it would strike into their Neighbours, there would be an Army of four thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the Lord *Goring* might prosecute his Commission in *Sussex*, and *Kent*, with such a reasonable Recruit of Foot as should be necessary, and yet his Highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good Army, raised out of the four Associated Counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were Garrison'd by the Rebels, or to march toward his Majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the Prince (with the privacy and advice of Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Brissel*, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) writ, upon the eleventh of *April*, to the Lord *Goring*, being then about *Wells*, "that his opinion was, that the Horse and Dragoons "under his Lordship's Command, should advance from the "Quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of "that County, into *Derfet-shire*, or *Wilt-shire*, or into both "of them; and that the Foot and Cannon should march directly towards *Taunton*, according to the design formerly "proposed by his Lordship; and referr'd it to himself, whether his Lordship in Person would stay with the Horse, or "go with the Foot; and desired to receive his opinion, and "resolution upon the whole; there being nothing proposed "to be acted in two days. This Letter was sent by Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*, who came that day, from before *Taunton*, from *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and could best inform him of the strength of the Town, and the condition of *Sr Richard Greenvil's* Forces.

THE next day Colonel *Windham* return'd, with a short fullen Letter from the Lord *Goring* to the Prince, "that he "had, according to his Command, sent the Foot and Cannon "to *Taunton*; and the Horse, to the other places; and that, "since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to "*Bath* to intend his Health: where he complain'd privately, "that his Forces were taken from him at a time when he "meant to pursue *Waller*, and could utterly Defeat him; and much inveighed against the Prince's Council, for sending Orders to him so prejudicial to the King's Service: whereas it was only an Opinion, and not Orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired

to return his present judgement, being within half a days Journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in Person, or have sent his advice to him, if what was then offer'd seem'd not convenient. But, after some days frolickly spent at *Bath*, he return'd to his former temper, and waiting on the Prince at *Bristol*, was contented to be told, "that he had been more apprehensive of Discourtesies than he had cause; and so all misunderstandings seem'd to be fairly made up.

THE Lord *Goring's* Foot and Cannon being thus suddainly sent to *Taunton*, under the Command of *Sr Joseph Wagstaffe*; for the better preventing any Mistakes, and Contests about Command, the Prince sent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* to *Taunton*, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the Country to assist that work in the best manner; which prov'd very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, *Sr Richard Greenvil*, having brought his Forces within Musquet-shot, on one side of *Taunton*, went himself to view *Wellington-House*, five Miles distant, in which the Rebels had a Garrison, and was, out of a Window, shot in the Thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceiv'd to be Mortal: so that there was no Person who would pretend to Command; those under *Greenvil*, having no experienced Officer of Reputation equal to that Charge, yet being Superior in number to the other, would not be Commanded by *Sr Joseph Wagstaffe*; so that if the Lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those Bodies of Foot, each being too weak for the attempt by it self, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former Posts, and left those of *Taunton* at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and *Sr John Berkley* being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an Account of the State of *Devon-shire*, they perswaded him to undertake the present Charge of the whole (all the Officers of both Bodies having formerly receiv'd Orders from him) and to prosecute the former design upon the Town; all Persons submitting till the Prince's Pleasure should be farther known; those Officers under *Sr Richard Greenvil*, presently sending away an Express to *Bristol*, to desire the Lord *Hepton* to take the Command of them. But his Lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular Action with disjoynted Forces, till, upon the withdrawing of the Lord *Goring*, the whole Command might be Executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the Officers, and Soldiers, to obey *Sr John Berkley*, according to what had been formerly settled by the Lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good Order, and by Storm took *Wellington-House*, where
Greenvil

Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the Lords, coming to visit *Greenvil*, in the instant that he was put into his Litter, and carrying to *Exeter*, told him, what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of Command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his Officers (most of the principal being there present) and to Command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the Command of *Sr John Berkley*; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his Officers, at the side of his Litter, which the Lords conceiv'd to be what he had promised: but it appear'd after, that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither Officer, nor Soldier, did his duty after he was gone, during the time *Sr John Berkley* Commanded in that Action.

THE Prince, finding the Publick Service in no degree advanced by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and that though there was no progress made in the Association affected, and undertaken by them, yet it serv'd to cross, and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first propos'd it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his Highness being inform'd by a Gentleman (sent by him, at his first coming to *Bristol*, to the two farthest Western Counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the Association) "that those two Counties of *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, were entirely devoted to serve the Prince, in what manner soever he should propose, he thought fit, to summon the Commissioners of all the Associated Counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of *Taunton*, and raising a marching Army; which Counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to *Bristol*, when he discern'd the flanness, peremptoriness, and inactivity of the Gentlemen of *Somerset*; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two Western Counties, that County could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his Highness came to *Bristol*, upon what apprehensions no Man knew, there was great jealousy at *Oxford* of his going farther West; and thereupon direction given "that he should not remove from *Bristol*, but upon weighty reasons, and "with which his Majesty was to be first acquainted. Whereas, by his instructions, "he was to make his residence in such a
" place,

“place, as by the Council should be thought most conducing
 “to his Affairs. However, such a meeting with all the Com-
 missioners being demonstrably necessary, and *Bristol* thought
 at too great a distance from the West, besides that the Plague ^{The Prince}
 begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, ^{summons the}
 his Highness resolv'd to go to *Bridgewater* for a few days, and ^{Commis-}
 to summon thither the Commissioners, the rather to give some ^{sioners of the}
 countenance to the business of *Tamworth*, then closely Besieged ^{four Asso-}
 by *Sr John Berkley*; and to that purpose, directed his Letters ^{ciated west-}
 to the several Commissioners to attend him there, on *Wednes-* ^{ern Counties}
 day the three and twentieth of *April*; the King being then at ^{to Bridge-}
Oxford, preparing for the Field, Prince *Rupert* at *Worcester*,
 levying Men, and the Rebels at *London* in some disorder and
 confusion about their new Model, having newly removed the
 Earl of *Essex*, and Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and
Sr William Waller from any Command, and Substituted *Sr Tho-*
mas Fairfax General; who was, out of the other broken and
 almost dissolv'd Forces, to mould a new Army, which was
 then in no very hopeful forwardness.

UPON the day, the Prince came to *Bridgewater*; and was
 attended by a great body of the Commissioners of *Somerset*,
 that place being near the center of that great County; there
 appear'd for *Dorset-shire*, as sent from the rest, *Sr John Strang-*
ways, *Mr Anchetil Grey*, and *Mr Ryves*; for *Devon-shire*, *Sr*
Peter Ball, *Sr George Parry*, *Mr Saint Hill*, and *Mr Muddy-*
ford; and for *Cornwall*, *Sr Henry Killegrew*, *Mr Corison*, *Mr*
Scawen, and *Mr Rosieroth*. The whole Body waited on the
 Prince the next morning; and were then told, “that his com-
 “ing thither was to receive Their Advice, and to give His
 “Assistance, in what might concern the peace and welfare of
 “each particular County; and might best advance the Gene-
 “ral service of the King; that if the Association which had
 “been propos'd, seem'd to them, by the accidents and mutati-
 “ons which had happen'd since the time of that first propos'd
 (as in truth very notable ones had happen'd) “not fit now
 “to be further prosecuted, he was ready to consent to any alte-
 “ration they should propose, and to joyn with them in any
 “other expedient; and wished them therefore to confer toge-
 “ther, what was best to be done; and when they were ready
 “to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive
 “it. After two or three days consultation amongst them-
 selves, they were unanimously of opinion (except *Sr John*
Stowel, who, against all the rest, and against all that could
 be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of
 One and All, and for that alone) “that That design was for
 “the present to be laid aside; and that, instead thereof, those
 “Counties, according to their several known proportions,
 “would

"would in a very short time (as I remember a Month was the utmost) "raise, and Arme, six thousand Foot, besides "the Prince's Guards, which would be full two thousand "more; not reckoning those of the Lord *Goring's* which were "fifteen hundred, but including the Foot of *Sr John Berkley*, "and *Sr Richard Greenvil* then before *Taunton*; which all Men concluded, would be reduced in less than a Month. This Proposition being approv'd by the Prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the Rendezvous of the new levies, and the Officers to whom the Men were to be deliver'd, named; and Warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of *Taunton* order'd, and directed; so that, towards the taking that place, and the raising an Army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished.

As this Journey to *Bridgewater* wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discover'd another. The Prince, having before his coming from *Oxford* been very little conversant with business, had been perswaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in Council, to mark, and consider the state of Affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking, and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity apply'd himself; but coming to *Bridgewater*, and having an extraordinary kindness for *Mr Windham*, who had been his Nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly, and petulancy, from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustom'd to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the Council; which though at first it made no impression in Him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other People who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and serv'd to bring prejudice to their Counsels throughout the whole course. She had many private designs of benefit and advantage to her self, and her Children, and the qualifying her Husband to do all Acts of power without controul upon his Neighbours, and labour'd to procure Grants, or Promises of Reversions of Lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to transact any such thing, without the Advice of the Council, and that They were not like to comply in those enterprises, she contrived to raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the Prince's Family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence *Sr Charles Berkley*, who had a promise to be made Controller of the Prince's Household, and *Mr Long*, who had the like promise to be his Secretary, when he should be created Prince of *Wales* (till which time those Officers were never made) began

gan to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the Prince's Council, to which the places they were to have, gave them Title; though they knew well, that the Lords who then attended upon the Prince, were of the King's Privy Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highness; and that the other were only of the Prince's own Council for his Revenue, and for the administration of the Dutty of *Cornwall*, for which his Highness had now his livery.

HOWEVER, these Fancies, thus weakly grounded, and entertain'd, made such an impression upon those Persons, that they united themselves into a Faction, and prevail'd over the weakness of the Earl of *Berk-shire* to joyn with them; and, by degrees, all of them joyn'd with all other discontented Persons, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a Woman of no good breeding, and of a Country pride, *Nil muliebre prater corpus gerens*, valued her self much upon the Power, and Familiarity, which her Neighbours might see she had with the Prince of *Wales*; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the Concourse of the People was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all Companies, where she let her self out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the Person of the King; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reason that made his Majesty unwilling his Son should go farther West than *Bristol*; since he knew *Bridge-water* must be a Stage in that motion. This her ill disposition was no sooner known to the Lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his Highness should make no longer residence in that Garrison.

THE other inconvenience, that it discover'd, was the design of the Lord *Goring* to have the Command of the West. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for *Kent*, or *Sussex*, he had, from the beginning, affected that Charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those Parts, he had with great industry caressed the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and *Devon*, and especially those, whom he thought not well inclin'd to the Lord *Hopton*; whom, by all ill Arts, he endeavour'd to undervalue; inveighing against "the too great Contribution, assign'd to the Garrison of *Bristol*; and that any should be allowed to "the unnecessary Garrison (as he call'd it) at *Lampport*; "which had been lately settled by the Lord *Hopton*; and, as appear'd afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most Popular to the Country, though most pernicious

to the King : and promised " great strictness and severity of Discipline, if that Power under the Prince might be devolv'd to him. To *Bridgewater* he came at the same time from *Bath*, upon pretence of " visiting *Taunton*, and seeing " whether the work were like to be soon done, that it might be worth the intending it. But, in truth, to drive on his Project for Command with the Commissioners ; who were invited by *Sr Peter Ball* to make it one of the Propositions to the Prince, " that the Lord *Goring* might be constituted his Lieutenant-General ; which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of question, he propos'd privately to most of the Prince's Council, the Rules that should be observ'd between them in the Government of the Army, and the Administration of the Civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to *Goring*, with'd the agreement made, and Him settled in the Command, as the best, if not the only Expedient, for advancement of the King's Service, and for the speedy forming an Army worthy of the Prince's own Person in the Head of it ; apprehending, that the dividing his Forces from the New Levies, would leave a good body of Foot without an equal Power of Horse, and without a Train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the state of Affairs promised to permit. But when *Goring* discover'd by his discourse with several of the Council (with whom he communicated upon the Argument very freely, and express'd in plain English, " that except he might be " satisfied in the particulars he propos'd, he should have no " heart to proceed in the publick Service) that they would not consent to any Act that might reflect upon the Lord *Hopton* ; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his Person, that they would make no conjunction with him, he resolv'd to compass his ends some other way ; and so press'd it no farther in any publick address to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offer'd, and assur'd, " that, as soon as the business of *Taunton* should be over, he " should have such a Recruit out of the New Levies, as would " make up his own Foot three thousand Men, besides Officers ; with which he might well prosecute his former design ; and, in the mean time, he had the absolute Command ; the Lord *Hopton* not at all interposing, or meddling with the Army.

It was now concluded by all Men who had well consider'd his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the West, that, as he had form'd that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the Prince, and resolv'd never to march with the Army under Prince *Rupert* (whose nature was not agreeable to him) so that he had purpos'd

and willingly suffer'd *Vandrusk* to Relieve *Taunton*, and even *Weymouth* to be again recover'd by that handful of Men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the West might be done without him, by other Men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if *Taunton* had been reduced, as it must have been if that small Party had not Reliev'd it even in the last Article, he could have had no pretence to have stay'd in those Parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon *Sussex*, and those other Counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King; which he had less mind to do. When he first left *Oxford*, and went into *Hampshire*, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had, in his jovial Fits, where he was always very unreserv'd, declared, with great resentment, "that his Father was ill treated by the Queen in *France*, and that he hoped shortly to be in such a posture, that the King should find it reasonable to use both his Father and Himself better. And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halberteers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himself had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at *Exeter*, his brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant General of his Horse, inform'd some Persons of Honour in confidence, "that *Goring* resolv'd to make himself Lieutenant General to the Prince, or else to be very discontented. This Advertisement was sent to some of the Council, upon his Highness's first coming to *Bristol*; and was the first hint that ever they receiv'd, that he had affected that Charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

THE general business concerning the four Counties being ^{The Commis-} agreed and settled at *Bridgewater*, the Commissioners for ^{De-} *Devon con-* ^{plain of St} *Devon*, desired to be heard in what concern'd that particular County; and then inform'd his Highness, "that upon ^{Richard} *St Richard* *Greenwill's* first entring upon the work of *Plymouth*, ^{Greenwill;} "and his assurance under his hand, that he would take the Town before *Christmas* day, and that he would forthwith Raise, Arme, and pay twelve hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot, they had assign'd him above one half of their whole Contribution, amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a Week; and, for the providing Armes and Ammunition, had assign'd him the Arrears of the Contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000l; he having likewise the whole Contribution of *Cornwall*, being above seven hundred pound weekly; and

"had receiv'd most part of the Letter and Subscription Money of that County, towards the same Service : that he had, from his first entring upon the charge, quietly enjoy'd those Contributions in *Devon*, which were duly paid; and had receiv'd the greatest part of the Arrears assign'd to him for the Provision of Armes and Ammunition: Notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty Barrels of Powder, or any Armes, but had receiv'd both the one and the other from Them, out of their Magazines; and had never maintain'd, or rais'd, near half the Number of Men to which he was obliged, till the Week before he was requir'd to march to *Taunton*; when he had called the *Posse Comitatus*, and out of Them forced almost the whole Number of Foot, which march'd with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as *Exeter*, unarm'd; and there compell'd the Commissioners to supply him with Armes, and Ammunition; that having left scarce two thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, before *Plymouth*, he continued still to receive the whole Contribution formerly assign'd when he was to have twelve hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot; and would not part with any of it: so that he receiv'd more out of *Devon-shire* for the blocking up of *Plymouth* (having all *Cornwall* to himself likewise) than was left for the Garrisons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnstable*, and *Tiverton*, and for the finishing those Fortifications, Victualing the Garrisons, providing Armes and Ammunition; with which they had before not only supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to the King's Army, to the Lord *Goring*, and to the Siege of *Taunton*: That he would not suffer them to send any Warrants to collect the Letter and Subscription Money, to settle the Excise, or meddle with Delinquents Estates in the hundreds assign'd to him for Contribution; and had those continual contests with *Sr John Berkley*, being Colonel General of the County, and the other Governours of Garrisons; pretending that He had power to Command them; that there was such an Animosity grown between them, that they very much apprehended the danger of those divisions; there having been some blood shed, and Men kill'd, upon their private Contests: and therefore besought his Highness, "by his Authority, to settle the limits of their several jurisdictions, in order to the Martial Affairs; and likewise to order *Sr Richard Greenvil* to receive no more Contribution, than would suffice for the maintenance of those Men, who continued before *Plymouth*; whereby they could be only enabled to perform Their parts of the Association.

THIS was press'd with so much earnestness, and reason, that

that it was thought very advisable for his Highness himself to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commissioners and *Sr Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But, at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, Letters came from his Majesty to his Highness and the Lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther Westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himself return'd to *Bristol* on *Wednesday* the thirtieth of *April*, having staid at *Bridgewater* only seven days; and sent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, ^{Upon which the Prince sends three commissions} with instructions "to examine all the complaints, and allegations of the Commissioners, and to settle the business of ^{sums of his} the Contribution; and upon view of the several Commis- ^{own to Exe-} sions of *Sr John Berkley*, and *Sr Richard Greenvil*, so to agree ^{tut, and so} "the matter of jurisdiction, that the publick Service might ^{to return to} *Bristol*.
 "not be obstructed.

AS SOON as the Lords appointed by his Highness to go to *Exeter*, came thither, they went the same hour to Visit *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a Visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp, and bitter complaints and invectives he made against *Sr John Berkley* (who was then at the Leaguer before *Taunton*) but told him, "that they would come to him again the next day, and consider of all businesses. Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complain'd of the Governour, and some disrespectts from his Lieutenant Governour: but when he was press'd to particulars, he mention'd principally some high and disdainful Speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some Prisoners from him, which he had sent his Marshal for near *Taunton*. The truth of which, was this; whilst *Sr Richard* was before *Taunton*, he had sent for one *Mr Syms*, a Justice of Peace of the County, a rich and decrepit Man, who liv'd within three miles of that Town. He charged him with some inclinations to the Rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The Gentleman stood upon his justification, and innocency, and desired to be put upon any Trial. However, *Sr Richard* told him, "he was a Traytor, "and should redeem himself at a thousand pound, or else he "would proceed in another way; and gave him three days to provide the Money. Before the time expired, *Sr Richard* was hurt, and carried to *Exeter*; whither he no sooner came; but he dispatch'd his Marshal to fetch *Mr Syms* to him; who appeal'd to *Sr John Berkley* (who had then the Command) and desired to be put upon any Trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for Travel) many Gen-

clemen of the best Quality gave him a very good Testimony, and undertook for his Appearance, when ever he should be called upon. Upon this, *Sr John Berkley* discharged the Marshal, and writ a very civil Letter to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, of the whole matter; "and that he would see the Gentleman forth coming upon the least warning; but that it would be an Act of great cruelty, to carry him a Prisoner, in that indisposition of health, from his House. *Sr Richard* look'd upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a Letter to *Sr John Berkley*, so full of ill Language, and reproach, as I have never seen the like From, and To a Gentleman; and complain'd to us of the Injury. We told him, that neither He, nor *Sr John Berkley*, had any Authority to meddle with *Mr Syme*, or any Persons of that Quality; who could not be look'd upon as Prisoners of War; but if in truth he should prove to be a Delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his Fyne and Composition was due to the King, who had assign'd the same to the Prince for the publick Service; and that there were Commissioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound. He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon *Sr John Berkley's* protecting *Syme*, as a great indignity to himself. On the other hand, *Sr John Berkley* complain'd by his Letters, that those Soldiers brought to *Taunton* by *Greenvil*, every day moulder'd away, and he had reason to believe it was by His direction; for that those that staid, and the Officers, were very backward in performing their duties; and that, after the taking of *Wellington-House*, he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the defacing it, because it might possibly be fit to put a Garrison into it, if the Siege should be rais'd from *Taunton*; but that the Officer, who was under *Greenvil*, had, notwithstanding such Command, burn'd it: That he proceeded in the levying Monies, and sending out extravagant Warrants throughout the County; and many other particulars.

Sr Richard Greenvil denied, "that the Soldiers left the Leaguer, or that *Wellington-House* was burn'd, by any direction of His: though it appear'd, that all such Soldiers as left their Colours and came to him, were kindly used, and had Money given to them by him; and that Lieutenant Colonel *Robinson*, after he had receiv'd Orders from *Sr John Berkley* not to slight *Wellington-House*, rode to *Exeter* to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, and immediately, upon his return from him, caused it to be burnt. *Greenvil* said, "that he levied no Monies, nor issued out any Warrants, but what he had Authority to do by his Commission. In the end they shewed him their Instructions

Instructions from the Prince, "throughly to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their Commissions, to agree what limits each of them should observe. Thereupon, he shewed them his Commission in Paper, under his Majesty's Sign Manual, attested by the Lord *Digby*, by which he was authorized "to Command the Forces before *Plymouth*; and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and Command the Train'd-bands, and indeed the whole Forces of both Counties; and was to receive Orders from his Majesty, and his Lieutenant General; and was likewise at that time High Sheriff of *Devon*. *Sr John Berkley's* Commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of *England*, "of Colonel General of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, "and to Command the whole Forces of both Counties, as well Train'd-bands, as others; so that, though their Commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses, and powers, so much the same, that either of them had Authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other: which, between Persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his Highness's Authority.

AFTER the perusal of their Commissions, they shew'd him their Instructions, concerning the regulating the Contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several Services; and desired his opinion, "what Forces were now necessary "for the blocking up of *Plymouth*, since any attempt for the "taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a time? And that "thereupon, such assignation might be made to that purpose, "as was sufficient, and the rest otherwise disposed of. He told them, "that the Forces then there (being about fifteen hundred Foot and four hundred Horse, of the *Devon-shire* side) "were sufficient; and proposed allowance little enough for the Service; and then said, "that it troubled him to be confined to such an employment, as the blocking up a place, "whilst there was like to be so much Action in the Field; and "therefore he hoped, his Highness would give him leave to "wait on him in the Army; where he thought he might do "him much better Service. They told him, "they had Authority from the Prince (for some of his Friends had mention'd the same, soon after he had receiv'd his wound) "if "they found his health able to bear it, and his inclination led "him that way, to let him know, that his Highness would "be glad of his Service, in the moulding that Army which "was then raising; which, allowing two thousand Foot to "the recruiting the Lord *Goring*, would be in view six thou-

"*said Foot, and above two thousand Horse with the Guards : in which he had design'd Him the Second Place of Command. But then, they said, "they knew not where to place the Command before Plymouth. Sr Richard very chearfully receiv'd the Proposition for himself in the Army ; and for Plymouth," he said, "no Man was fit to undertake the work There, but Sr John Berkley, who had the Command of both Counties: that it was visible by the differences and breaches that had been between Them, how inconvenient it would be to have that Charge independent ; whereas, if it were in one hand, the unanimous consent of both Counties, and all the Forces in them, would more easily do the business.*

ALL things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without *Sr John Berkley's* consent, who was then before *Taunton* ; the Lords resolv'd to return to the Prince, and in their way to dispose *Sr John Berkley* to what had been proposed ; and left the Chancellor of the Exchequer at *Exeter*, to agree with the Commissioners, upon the settlement of the Contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolv'd upon. The whole Contribution of the County of *Devon* amounted to two thousand pound Weekly ; whereof so many hundreds were assign'd by the Commissioners, for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by *Sr Richard Greenvil* himself ; and then so many to the Garrisons of *Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Truerton*, as amounted to the payment of such Forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole Contribution, being two thousand pound Weekly, would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying Ammunition and Armes, for the finishing Fortifications, for Victualling the Garrisons, or for blocking up of *Lyme* ; which if it were not done, all that part of the Country would be liable to that pressure ; and so, unable to pay Contribution where it was assign'd. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some Numbers from the several Garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad ; and the rest must be supplied out of the Excise (the Major part whereof was by the King assign'd for the Support of the Princess *Henrietta* left at *Exeter*) and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of ; the Letter Money, and Subscription Money, being almost exhausted.

HIS Highness was no sooner return'd to *Bristol* from *Bridge-water*, which was on the last day of *April*, than General *Goring* was sent for by the King, to draw his Horse and Dragoons towards *Oxford* ; that thereby his Majesty might free

The Lord
Goring
joins the
King at
Oxford.

free himself from *Cromwell*; who, with a very strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joyning with Prince *Rupert* about *Worcester*. How unwelcome soever these Orders were to the Lord *Goring*, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the West should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that Expedition towards the King, who was then at *Woodstock*, that he fell upon a Horse Quarter of *Cromwell's*, and another Party of *Fairfax's* Horse, as they were attempting a passage over the River of *Ist*, so prosperously (the very Evening before he came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable Action, to discountenance, and break such a Party, in the Infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made *Fairfax* to appoint a new place of Rendezvous for his new Army, at a greater distance from the King's Forces.

PRINCE *Rupert*, who now met with very little opposition in Council, had, throughout the Winter, disposed the King to resolve "to march Northwards, and to fall upon the Army in *Tork-shire*, before *Fairfax* should be able to perceive his new model to that degree, as to take the Field. This design was not unreasonable; nor the Prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them for what passed the last year; which, now they were separated from the *English*, who had indeed defeated him, he believ'd was easy to be done. That purpose of marching Northward was now the more hastned, that, in the way, *Chester* might be relieved; which was closely besieg'd; and then they might come soon enough to *Pontefract-Castle*, before which the *Scotish* Army then was; and if they could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the matter, Master of the North: which, by the insolence of the *Scots*, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceiv'd to be better affected than ever. The next day after *Goring* came to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand Foot, and above six thousand Horse; an Army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a Campagne, when the King was to expect he should have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable, that the Summer might have been crown'd with better success.

FAIRFAX was then about *Newbury*, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was said, that his design was to carry his whole Army to the relief of *Taunton*, brought almost to extremity; which

N. B. Dr. Walker
Ray in his History
Cal. Dycourney Feb. 1709
from p. 125 to 153. Ray
given by Brief Memo
rials of the Unfortunate
Success of the King's
Army & Affairs in
Year 1645. Dated at
Paris Feb. 1. 1647. N. B.
who imputes to the
King's absence.
State of his Army by
placing of sole Power
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lost General into his Son of Prince of Wales.

if he could bring to pass, would give him great Reputation, and would make the Parliament near Sharers with the King in the interest of the West. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed, "that the King himself "would march with his Army into the West; and thereby, "not only prevent the relief of *Taunton*, but compel *Fairfax* "to Fight, before he should be able to joyn with *Cromwell*; "who had not gathered his Troops together. This was the concurrent advice of the whole Council with which the King used to consult, Prince *Rupert* only excepted, and *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, who Commanded the Northern Horse; which were impatient to be in their own Country. Now the very contrary Affections towards each other, between Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goring*, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The Prince found that *Goring*, as a Man of a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to have most Credit with the King in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his Friendship with the Lord *Digby*, he would quickly get such an interest with his Majesty, that his own Credit would be much Eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that *Goring* should return again into the West, than *Goring* did, not to remain where Prince *Rupert* Commanded. This produced a great Confidence and Friendship between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had spoken freely to him, when his Highness abhorred nothing more than that *Goring* should be near the Prince of *Wales*; and *Goring* said all of the Council, which he believ'd would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to lessen the Credit and Authority of the Council. The King was desired to receive the Information, and State of the West; from *Goring*; who, upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the Artifices of the Lord *Digby*, was too easily believ'd. He inform'd the King with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the positive Com- "mand of the Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his "Forces had not been taken from him, and applied to the Siege "of *Taunton*, he had doubtless totally ruin'd all *Waller's* Forces, "and prevented the coming of those Parties who had given "his Majesty so much trouble at *Oxford*: that he had been "always used, upon his resort to the Prince, with great dis- "respect, being not call'd into the Council, but put to an at- "tendance without, amongst inferior Suiters; and then told many particular passages at *Bridgewater*, of which he rais'd advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

WHEREAS the truth of the design upon *Taunton* is before set down, with all the circumstances; and *Waller* was marched beyond *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* knew where he was; and confessed, there was no overtaking him; and

and he had always receiv'd as much respect from the Prince, and Council, as could be given to a Subject; being constantly call'd, and admitted to Council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the Council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet: yet, I say, he got so much Credit, that the King, by his Letter of the tenth of *May* to the Prince, directed, "that General *Goring* should be admitted into all consultations and Debates, and advised withal, as if he were one of the establish'd Council; that Prince *Rupert* having granted him Power, to give Commissions in that Army, all Commissions to be granted should pass by General *Goring*; and that none should be granted by the Prince, in his own Name, otherwise than in such Cases as were of relation meerly to the Association: that the Council should contribute their opinions and advices to General *Goring*, but that his Highness should carefully forbear to give unto the Lord *Goring* any positive or binding Orders; whereas, by his Instructions, when he came from *Oxford*, he was to put both his Commissions, of Generalissimo, and of General of the Association in execution, as he found most convenient; his Majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the Association, as it was proposed; and therefore, by his Letters to the Prince of the twentieth of *April*, which came to him at *Bridgewater*, all the assignations formerly made towards the Association, were directed to be disposed, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his Council should be found most advantageous to the Service of those Parts; and thereupon the Levies were consented to, and directed as is before mention'd. With these triumphant Orders, the Lord *Goring* return'd into the West; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his Majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that Counsel, which so fatally dismissed *Goring*, and his Forces, at a time, in which, if he had been born to Serve his Country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occasion.

WHEN *Goring* was thus separated from the King's Army, his Majesty marched to *Evesham*; and in his way, drew out his Garrison from *Cambden-House*; which had brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour thereof; who exercised an illimited Tyranny over the whole Country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the King left *Evesham*, it was surpris'd by the Enemy,

The Lord
Goring
sent back in-
to the West.

or

*Marches of
the King's
Army to-
wards the
North, whilst
Sr Thomas
Fairfax
with his, sat
down before
Oxford.*

or rather storm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works; and the Governour, and all the little Garrison made Prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill Omen to the succeeding Summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between *Worcester*, and *Oxford*; nor was it at all repair'd by the taking of *Hawkesly-House* in *Worcester-shire*; which the Rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the King's Army took in two days, and therein the Governour, and one hundred and twenty Prisoners; who serv'd to redeem those who were lost in *Evesham*. And so, by easy and slow marches the Army prosecuted their way towards *Chester*. But, in *Stafford-shire*, the Lord *Byron*, who was Governour of *Chester*, met the King; and inform'd him, "that the Rebels, upon the noise of his Majesty's advance, were drawn off; and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the Northern design; which was now intended, and the Army upon it's march accordingly, when Intelligence was brought, that *Fairfax* had sent a strong Party to relieve *Tamton*, and was himself, with his Army, sat down before *Oxford*. This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the Execution of the former Counsels: and yet *Oxford* was known to be in so good a Condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wish'd, than that *Fairfax* should be thoroughly engaged before it: And it was concluded, "that the best way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon some place possessed by the Parliament.

*The King
Storms, and
takes Lei-
cester.*

THEY had no Town so considerable near the place where the King then was, as *Leicester*; in which there was a good Garrison, under the Command of Sr *Robert Pye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was always pleas'd with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertain'd the first motion, and sent Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his Horse; and the next day, being the last of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, Commanded a Battery to be forthwith rais'd against an old high stone Wall, on the South side of the Town; which, by his own continued presence, was finish'd with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a Summons to the Governour; who return'd not such an Answer as was required. Thereupon, the Battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a Breach, that it was thought Counselable, the same Night to make a general Assault with the whole Army, in several places; but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great Courage, and Resolution; insomuch, that the King's Forces were twice repuls'd with great loss, and slaughter; and were even ready to draw

draw off in despair : when another Party, on the other side of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, seconded by a Body of Horse that came but that day from *Newark*, and, putting themselves on Foot, advanced, with their Swords and Pistols, with the other, enter'd the Town; and made way for their Fellows to follow them : so that, by the break of day, the Assault having continued all the Night, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Then the Governour, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve hundred, threw down their Armes, and became Prisoners of War : whilst the Conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual Licence of Rapine, and Plunder, and miserably sacked the whole Town, without any distinction of Persons, or Places ; Churches, and Hospitals, as well as other Houses, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King ; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that Town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest : but those Seasons admitted no difference of Persons. Though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the King's side ; there being near two hundred Soldiers dead upon the places of Assault, with many Officers ; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name ; besides many more wounded, and maimed. The King presently made the Lord *Loughborough*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, and one who had serv'd him eminently from the beginning of the War, Governour of *Leicester* ; and Sr *Matthew Appleyard*, a Soldier of known Courage and Experience, his Lieutenant Governour.

THE taking of *Leicester*, the chief Town of that Province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great Courage, gave the King's Army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at *Westminster* ; who now revolv'd the conditions, which were offer'd at *Uxbridge* ; which they had refused. They began to curse their new model ; and to reproach those who had perswaded them "so ingratelully to throw off their old General, who was ready to foment all their discontents. It was not above twenty days, that the King's Army had been in the Field, and in that short time, it had reduced two strong Garrisons of theirs, without giving the Soldiers any conditions, *Hawkeley*-House in *Worcestershire*, and the Town of *Leicester* : whilst their new General *Fairfax* had only faced *Oxford* at a distance, to try whether the Ladies would prevail for the giving up of the Town, to pacify their fears ; and had attempted to take a
"poor

"poor House that lay near, *Borſſall* House, and had been "beaten from thence with considerable loss, and had drawn "off from both, very little to his Honour. These discourses were so publick in the City, and had so much Credit in both Houses of Parliament, that they exceedingly desired Peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil Genius of the Kingdom in a moment shifted the whole Scene.

LEICESTER was a Post, where the King might, with all possible Convenience and Honour, have sat still, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales*, with a Body of three thousand Horse and Foot: and he had reason to expect, that the Lord *Goring* would be very shortly with him with his Horse; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with those Orders which are mention'd before (and with which he was so well pleased) but that the King saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other Orders to recal him as soon as was possible. But the King's fate, and the natural unsteadiness, and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into Counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which some Men pretended to have receiv'd from thence, was, "that it was in distress. The Duke of *York* remain'd there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who sent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there; and if all these should fall into the Enemies hands, *Leicester* would appear a very poor recompence. These particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly press'd by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the King resolv'd to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of *Leicester*, he appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appear'd evidently, how very much it was weaken'd by, and since that Action, by the loss of those who were killed and wounded in the Storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the Garrison; and by the running away of very many with their Plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The King
marches
back towards
Oxford.

THE number of the King's Foot which remain'd, did not amount to above three thousand five hundred; which was not a Body sufficient to Fight a Battle for a Crown. Then, all the Northern Horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the King, that they should go into their own Country, were so displeased with this new Resolution, that they

they were with great difficulty restrain'd from Disbanding ; and, though they were at last prevail'd with to march, were not enough recover'd to be depended upon in any sudden Action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continu'd ; the next day, at *Harborough*, the Intelligence came " that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having ever ^{Dr Thomas} approached so near it, as to discharge one Piece of Cannon ^{Fairfax} upon it ; that he had been beaten off from *Borstal House* ^{drawn off} " with the loss of Officers, as well as Soldiers ; and that he ^{from Ox-} " was marched with his whole Army to *Backingham*. But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march Northward, since they might well apprehend the *Scottish* Army in their Face, and *Fairfax* in their Rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to *Leicester*, or to *Worcester*, where they might expect, and could not fail of an Addition of Forces to the Army ; and where the Enemy, who must now be oblig'd to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These Considerations were all laid aside, and every body believ'd, that *Fairfax* his Army was much dispirited, by having fail'd in their two first Enterprizes ; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover Courage, before it should be brought to Fight with so Victorious Troops, as the King's were : and therefore, that it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them : all Men concluding that to be true, which their own wishes suggested to them. So the Army marched to *Deventry* in *Northamptonshire* : where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remain'd in a quiet posture the space of five days.

UPON the thirteenth of *June*, the King receiv'd Intelligence, that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton*, with a strong Army ; much superior to the Numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, his Majesty retir'd the next day to *Harborough* ; and meant to have gone back to *Leicester*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and stand upon his defence, till the other Forces which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very Night, an Alarm was brought to *Harborough*, that *Fairfax* himself was Quarter'd within six Miles. A Council was presently call'd, the former Resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, " to Fight ; to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the Enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And so, in the Morning early, being *Saturday* the fourteenth of *June*, all the Army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage about

about a Mile South from *Harborough* (which was left at their back) and there put in order to give or receive the Charge. The main Body of the Foot was led by the Lord *Astley* (whom the King had lately made a Baron) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred Foot; the right Wing of Horse, being about two thousand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing, consisting of all the Northern Horse, with those from *Newark*, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was Commanded by *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; in the Reserve, were the King's Life-Guard, Commanded by the Earl of *Lincolne*, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment of Foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred) with the King's Horse-Guards, Commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) which made that day about five hundred Horse.

THE Army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the Enemy. About eight of the Clock in the Morning, it began to be doubted, whether the Intelligence they had receiv'd of the Enemy was true. Upon which the Scoutmaster was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but return'd and averr'd, "that he had been three or four Miles forward, and could neither discover, nor hear any thing of them: presently, a report was raised in the Army, "that the Enemy was retired. Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horse and Musketeers, both to discover, and engage them, the Army remaining still in the same place, and posture they had been in. His Highness had not march'd above a mile, when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of Their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the Van of their Army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his Horse, and sent back, "that the Army should march up to him; and the Messenger who brought the Order, said, "that the Prince desired they should make hast. Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the Enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had march'd about a mile and an half, the Horse of the Enemy was discern'd to stand upon a high ground about *Naseby*; whence, seeing the manner of the King's march, in a full Campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The Prince's natural heat, and impatience, could never endure an Enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turn'd, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight: so that Courage

WAS

was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the Clock, when the Battle began: *The Battle*
The first Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*; who, with his of *Naseby*.
own, and his Brother Prince *Maurice's* Troop, perform'd it
with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore
down all before him, and was Master of six pieces of the Re-
bels best Cannon: The Lord *Astley*, with His Foot, though
against the Hill, advanced upon Their Foot; who discharged
their Cannon at them, but over-shot them, and so did their
Musqueteers too. For the Foot on either side hardly saw each
other till they were within Carabine-shot, and so only gave
one Volley; the King's Foot, according to their usual custom,
falling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Mus-
quets; with which they did very notable execution, and put
the Enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right
Wing of Horse and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and
advanced, the left Wing, under *St Marmaduke Langdale*, in
five Bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was en-
counter'd by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the right Wing of
the Enemies Horse, with seven Bodies greater, and more nu-
merous than either of the other; and had, besides the Odds
in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's
Horse were obliged to march up the Hill, before they could
Charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place,
and great inequality of Numbers would enable them to do.
But being flanked on both sides by the Enemies Horse, and
pressed hard, before they could get to the top of the Hill,
they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them.
Four of the Enemies Bodies, close, and in good order, fol-
low'd them, that they might not rally again; which they
never thought of doing; and the rest Charged the King's
Foot, who had till then so much the advantage over theirs;
whilst Prince *Rupert*, with the right Wing, pursued those
Horse which he had broken and defeated.

THE King's Reserve of Horse, which was his own Guards,
with Himself in the head of them, were even ready to Charge
those Horse who pursued his left Wing, when, on a sudden,
such a Pannick fear seized upon them, that they all run near a
quarter of a mile without stopping; which happen'd upon an
extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might
well disturb and disorder very resolute Troops, as those were,
and the best Horse in the Army. The King, as was said be-
fore, was even upon the point of Charging the Enemy, in the
head of his Guards, when the Earl of *Carnearth*, who rode
next to him (a Man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet
one from whom the King would have receiv'd Counsel in such
a case) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's
Horse,

Horse, and swearing two or three full Mouthed *Scottish* Oaths (for of that Nation he was) said, "will you go upon your death in an instant? and before his Majesty understood what he would have, turn'd his Horse round; upon which a word run through the Troops, "that they should *march* to the right hand; which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and assisting their own Men. Upon this they all turn'd their Horses, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to shift for himself.

It is very true that, upon the more Souldierly word, *stand*, which was sent after them, many of them return'd to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. By this time, Prince *Rupert* was return'd with a good Body of those Horse, which had attended him in his prosperous Charge on the right Wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to Charge the Enemy. That difference was observ'd all along, in the discipline of the King's Troops, and of those which marched under the Command of *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell* (for it was only under Them, and had never been remarkable under *Effex*, or *Waller*) that, though the King's Troops prevail'd in the Charge, and routed those they Charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second Charge again the same day: which was the reason, that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-hill*: Whereas the others Troops, if they prevail'd, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they receiv'd new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do, could not rally their broken Troops, which stood in sufficient Numbers upon the Field, though they often endeavour'd it, with the manifest hazard of their own Persons. So that, in the end, the King was compell'd to quit the Field; and to leave *Fairfax* Master of all his Foot, Cannon, and Baggage; amongst which was his own Cabinet, where his most secret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and Him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their Natures, and publish'd them in Print; that is, so much of them, as they thought would asperse either of their Majesties, and improve the prejudice they had rais'd against them; and conceal'd other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

I SHALL not stay, in this place, to mention the Names of those Noble Persons who were lost in this Battle; when the King, and the Kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of

prime Quality, dead upon the spot; whose Memories ought to be preserv'd. The Enemy left no manner of cruelty unexercis'd that day; and in the pursuit kill'd above one hundred Women, whereof some were the Wives of Officers of Quality. The King and Prince *Rupert*, with the broken Troops, marched by *Leicester* that Night to *Asby de la Zouch*; and the next day to *Lichfield*; and continued two days march more, till they came to *Bewdley* in *Worcester-shire*; where they rested one day; and then went to *Hereford*, with some disjoyned imagination, that they might, with those Forces under *Gerrard*, who was General of South *Wales*, and was indeed upon his march, with a Body of two thousand Horse and Foot, be able to have rais'd a new Army. At *Hereford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any form'd Counsel was agreed upon, what the King should do next, left the King, and made hast to *Bristol*, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wonder'd at, than that the King should amuse himself about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppressions of his own Troops, and the Licence of those Governours, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the West, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People, generally, well devoted to his Service, whither all his broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have transported themselves, before *Fairfax* could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the West.

THE Sickness which infested *Bristol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it necessary for the Prince of *Wales* to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as *Barnstable*, a pleasant Town in the North part of *Devon-shire*, well Fortified, with a good Garrison in it, under the Command of *Sr Allen Apfley*. And as his Highness was upon his way thither, he receiv'd the Orders which the Lord *Goring*, who was now return'd, had procured from the King; which he carefully transmitted to his Highness, as soon as he arrived. At the same time, the Lord *Colepepper* receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated four days after the former Orders, by which he signified "the King's express pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should Command those Forces in Chief; that *Sr Richard Greenvil* should be Major General of the whole Army; that *Sr John Berkeley*, as Colonel General of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, should in-

The King
retires by
Lichfield to
Bewdley,
thence to
Hereford.
Thence
Prince Ru-
pert retires
to Bristol.

The Affairs
of the West
in the mean
time.

"tend the work before *Plymouth*; and that Prince *Rupert* would send his Ratification of all these; that the Lord *Hopton* should attend his Charge at the Army, as General of the Artillery. To which purpose, his Majesty with his own hand writ to the Lord *Hopton*; "and that the Prince should not be in the Army, but keep his residence in a safe Garrison; and There, by the advice of his Council, manage and improve the business of the West, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the Army: with an Intimation, "that Mr *Smith's* House, near *Bristol*, would be a convenient place for his residence.

THE Prince and Council were much amazed at these Orders and Resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his Majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believ'd in the Country, that the Prince's Authority was in the least manner superseded, or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful Levies, upon the agreement at *Bridgewater*, would be in a moment determin'd; the Gentlemen who were to raise Regiments, professing, "that they would receive no Commissions but from his Highness. But whatever care They used to conceal the matters of those Letters, and to hasten away a dispatch to the King concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much care to publish them; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the Lord *Digby* (sending at the same time express Orders from the King to the Lord *Goring* to that purpose) by his Letters to the Lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of *May*, within five days after the former, signified "his Majesty's pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should march forthwith towards *Northampton-shire* with all the Forces could be spared; and that the Prince himself should stay at *Dunstar*-Castle, and encourage the new Levies: it being (I presume) not known at Court, that the Plague, which had driven him from *Bristol*, was as hot in *Dunstar* Town, just under the Walls of the Castle. At the same time, a Letter to the Lord *Hopton* from the King, order'd him "to Command the Forces under the Prince. The Prince was then, as was said before, in his way to *Barnstable*; having left five hundred of his Guards to keep the Fort in *Bristol*, the Garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the Service before *Taunton*.

GENERAL *Goring*, upon his return from the King, found *Taunton* reliev'd by a strong Party of two thousand Horse, and
three

three thousand Foot, which unhappily arriv'd in the very Article of reducing the Town, and after their Line was enter'd, and a third part of the Town was burned. But this Supply rais'd the Siege, the Besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the Party that reliev'd them, having done their work, and left some of their Foot in the Town, made what hast they could, to make their Retreat Eastward; when *Goring* fell so opportunely upon their Quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believ'd that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to *Taunton*, nor march Eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all Men that knew the Country. But, by the extreme ill disposing his Parties, and for want of particular Orders (of which many Men spoke with great licence) his two Parties sent out, several ways, to fall upon the Enemy at *Petherton-Bridge*, the one Commanded by Colonel *Thornill*, the other by *Sr William Courtney* (both diligent, and sober Officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more loss got into, and about *Taunton*; notwithstanding which untoward accident, General *Goring* was, or seem'd, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his Mercy.

THIS was before the latter end of *May*; when, upon the confidence of speedily dispatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with Provisions, and to send all the new Levied Men, and his Highness's own Guards thither. Inasmuch, as he had within few days a Body of full five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which he Quarter'd at the most convenient places; rather for ease, than duty; having published Orders, under pretence of preserving the Country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary Discipline, "that six pence a day should be collected for the payment of each Trooper; to which he got the Commissioners consent; by virtue whereof, he rais'd great Sums of Money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such Popular circumstances, sending most specious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; sometimes desiring, "that solemn Prayers might be said in all Churches for him; and to desire God to bless "some attempts he had then in hand; always using extreme Courtship to the Commissioners (whom he barefaced inform'd, "that he was to have, or rather, that he had the ab-

‘(olute Command of the West under the Prince, without reference to his Council) that with his Promises, Proclamations, and Courtship, together with laughing at those Persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very Popular consideration; till they found, that he promised and published Orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seem’d wish them to laugh at other Men, he made them Properties only to his own ends.

IN this conjuncture, the King’s Letter came to the Lord Goring, to march towards *Northampton-shire*; to which he return’d an Answer by an Express, before he desired the Prince’s directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his Highness’s opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those Forces within very few days; the leaving all the West to the Mercy of the Rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his Rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the Enemy, as General Goring could carry to the King, except he carried with him the Forces of the several Garrisons, which were then joyn’d to him, made it very Counselable to suspend a present Obedience to those Orders, till his Majesty might receive the full and true State of his Affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his Highness to the King. In the mean time, General Goring was so far from making any advance upon *Tamworth*, that he grew much more negligent in it, than he had been; suffer’d Provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the Town, through the midst of his Men; neglected, and discouraged his own Foot so much, that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to Licence: insomuch that some times he was not seen abroad, in three or four days together. At this time came the news of the fatal blow at *Naseby*, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the West; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the Enemy, who were exceedingly dishearten’d; but suffer’d the Guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his Quarters were often beaten up, even in the day time; whilst some Principal Officers of his Army, as Lieutenant General *Porter*, and others, with his leave, had several Parleys with the Officers of the Rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the Person of the King with great contempt, and avow’d in all places a virulent dislike of the Prince’s Council. Thus, after about six Weeks lying about *Tamworth*, the Forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire

ture, and suffer them to joyn with *Sr Thomas Fairfax*; who in the beginning of *July* marched towards those parts.

AFTER the Prince came to *Barnstable*, though he very seldom receiv'd any account from the Lord *Goring* of what happen'd, he was inform'd by several Persons of Credit, "that he was much discontented; and expressed a great sense "of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he had receiv'd. Therefore it was wish'd by them, "that some means might be "found out, to settle a good understanding with him, where- "by he might be encouraged to an Alacrity in so important "a Season: and he having appointed to be at *Truroton* on such a day, the Prince sent thither *Sr John Berkley*, *Sr Hugh Pollard*, and Colonel *Asburnham*, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the Prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever propos'd, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talk'd only of "general neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council; "that he had been promis'd by the King to have the Com- "mand of the West, but that they had hinder'd it; which "affront he requir'd to have repair'd, before he would do any "Service upon the Enemy; with many bitter Invectives against particular Persons; "whereof, he said, Prince *Rupert* "had told him that some thought him not a Man fit to be "trusted. They had indeed spoken freely to his Highness to that purpose, upon his very frankly discouraging of him. In the end, these three Persons pressing him as Friends to deal particularly with them, what would satisfy him; he told them, "if he might be presently made Lieutenant General to "the Prince, and admitted of his Council, and be promis'd "to be Sworn of the Privy Council, as soon as might be, and "to be Gentleman of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, he would "then proceed soundly and chearfully in the business; other- "wise, the Prince's Council should do the work themselves "for Him. All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any Answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as Friends, and not expressly sent to the Prince.

WHEN the Prince first apprehended the advance of *Sr Thomas Fairfax* to the West, he very earnestly recommended to the Lord *Goring* the state of the Garrisons about *Bridgewater*, especially the Garrison of *Lampore*, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied, it had secured *Bridgewater*, and all that part of the Country. This Garrison had been settled by the Lord *Hopton*, upon his first coming down to *Taunton*, after *Vandruske* had rais'd the Blockade that Colonel *Windham* had laid to it; and *Sr Francis Mackworth* (who, having been formerly Major-General to the Marquis of New-

Castle, was now, that Army being dissolv'd, returning to his Command in the Low Countries by his Majesty's leave) was engaged by him, to take the Command of it till, upon the Prince's coming into those Parts, a worthier Command could be provided for him; and before the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*, he had Fortify'd it to a good degree. This Garrison, from the first Establishment, had been much malign'd by Colonel *Windham*, who desired not to have another Governour so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before look'd on as his own, though never assign'd to him: and then, upon some differences between *Sr John Stavel*, and *Sr Francis Mackworth*, it was more inveighed against: insomuch as at the first coming down of the Prince to *Bristol*, most of the time was spent in complaints from *Sr John Stavel* of this Garrison, and of the forcing the Country to work, and contribute to those Fortifications. After the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*, he had, as a compliment to *Bridgewater*, and to all the Gentlemen, who were grown angry with my Lord *Hopton*, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to *Sr Francis Mackworth* upon some disputes they had Had in the North (where they were both General Officers) very much neglected, and oppress'd that Garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the Contribution assign'd for the support of it, for the supplying his own Army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to Levy those Rates, which the Prince himself had assign'd to him. Insomuch as when the Club-men of the County assembled together in great Numbers, and, having taken some Officers and Soldiers of that Garrison Prisoners, for requiring their just Contributions in Money, or Provisions, came up to the Walls of *Lampert*, and discharged their Musquets upon the Works, and *Sr Francis Mackworth* thereupon with his Horse Charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the Lord *Goring* sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively Commanded him "to do so no more; nor in any Case to disturb or injure those People. This brought that Garrison so low, that when it might have preserv'd that Army, it had not two days Provisions in it; *Sr Francis Mackworth*, having been call'd to wait on the Prince's Person, as well by his own choice (when he saw the carriage towards him, believing that some prejudice to his Person brought a disadvantage to the place) as by Prince *Rupert's* advice; who promised, when he left the Prince at *Barnstable*, and visited *Goring*, and *Bridgewater*, "to settle that Garrison of *Lampert*, and make Colonel *Windham* Governour "of it.

HERE

HERE I cannot but say somewhat of the Club-men; who *of the Club-men in Somerset and Dorsetshire.* began then to rise in great Numbers, in several parts of the Country, about the time that the Prince went from *Bath* to *Bridgewater*, in his Journey to *Barnstable*; and that night his Highness lay at *Wells*, which was the second of *June*, a Petition was deliver'd to him, which had been agreed upon that day at *Marbals Elme*, where there had then assembled five or six thousand Men, most in Armes; and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at *Bridgewater* for an Answer. It was evident, though the avow'd ground for the rising, was the intolerable Oppression, Rapine, and Violence, exercised by the Lord *Goring's* Horse, that, in truth, they receiv'd encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country; some of them thinking, it would be a good Expedient to necessitate a Reformation of the Army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the King, and would grow into the matter of the first Association, One and All. Therefore some principal Agents of *St John Stavel's* were very active in those Meetings; and he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious Answer might be return'd to their Petition; which was follow'd by some Farmerly Men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good Reputations of affection, and integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expressed a great sense of the Oppressions they suffer'd, by the disorder of the Army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end, he writ many earnest Letters to the Lord *Goring*. But his Highness told them, "that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own Judges, "would prove very pernicious: for though many of them "might mean well, yet some active Ministers would mingle "with them, on the behalf of the Rebels, and having once "brought them to a kind of Neutrality, and Unconcernedness "for the King, would, in a moment, be able, against all their "good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore "streightly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, "except they first list'd themselves in Regiments, and chose "Gentlemen of the Country to Command them; to whom his Highness offer'd to grant Commissions to that purpose.

THIS Answer seem'd to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were perswaded by some Gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontent. When the Prince went to *Barnstable*, he gave General *Goring* Advertisements "of the great danger that "might arise out of the licence that People took to themselves; and therefore advised him, "as on the one hand,

“to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the Army by
 “good Discipline, and severity upon enormous Transgressors;
 “so on the other, seasonably to discountenance, and punish
 “those Assemblies of Club-men; which would otherwise, in
 “time, prove as dangerous to him, as any other strength of
 “the Rebels. But, whether it were to shew his greatness,
 and so, Popularly to comply with what the Prince had dis-
 countenanced, or whether in truth he believ’d he should be
 able to make use of them, and perswade them to become a
 part of his Army, he did use all possible compliance with
 them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them.
 So that they grew to be so powerful, that they kept Provi-
 sions from the Army, and the Garrisons; and when he mov’d
 from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of *Sr Thomas Fairfax*,
 they kill’d many of his Soldiers; and did him more mischief,
 than all the power of the Rebels.

WHEN the Prince came to *Barnstable*, he receiv’d the
 fatal news of the Battle of *Naseby*, by the noise and triumphs
 which the Rebels made in those parts for their Victory,
 without any particular information, or account from *Oxford*,
 or any Credible Persons; which left some hope that it might
 not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected People
 reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concern’d him
 the more to be solicitous to put the West into such a posture,
 that it might be able to repair any loss the King had receiv’d;
 which he might have done, if the Jealousies and Animosities
 between particular Persons could have been reconciled, and
 a Union been made amongst all Men who pretended to wish,
 and really did wish, prosperity to the King’s Affairs; which
 were disturbed, and even render’d desperate, by the intoler-
 able Pride of incorrigible Faction. Notwithstanding the Or-
 ders, which had been made by the Commissioners of *Devon-*
shire, for distributing the Contributions of that County, which
 have been mention’d before, and in which such a proportion
 was assign’d for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*,
 as in *Sr Richard Greenvil’s* own judgement was sufficient for
 them; he had still continued to Levy the whole Contribu-
 tion, which he had done formerly, for six thousand Foot, and
 twelve hundred Horse; and said, “he could not submit to
 “the other division and retrenchment; for that there was
 “nothing assign’d, or left for the payment of his Men before
 “*Taunton*. He was told by the Commissioners, “that they
 “were now a part of the Army, and liv’d as their fellows did;
 “that they had receiv’d no Money from him since their go-
 “ing thither, but had Had free Quarter as the rest of the Ar-
 “my; and that it would prove of ill Consequence, and beget
 “a Mutiny, if they should receive a Weekly pay, when none
 “of

“of the rest did, nor any Army the King had in *England* :
 “that he could not but confess, by the State of the whole,
 “that the dispensation was very reasonable ; and that it could
 “not be expected that the County would be contented to pay
 “their Contribution for the payment of other Forces, not of
 “their own County, when their own Garrisons, that were
 “kept for their defence, should be compell’d for want of pay,
 “to disorders, or to disband. But that, if he thought any
 “thing in those Establishments unnecessary, or that he thought
 “Provision could be otherwise made for them, they would
 “be contented that the Overplus should be disposed as he de-
 “fired. He Answer’d none of their reasons ; but positively
 said, “He would spare none of the Contributions formerly
 “assign’d to him ; though the Commissioners had the same
 Authority now to take it away, as they had then to dispose it
 to him ; and though it appear’d to be assign’d for the main-
 tenance of so great a Force, as was before spoken of, and
 upon his undertaking, under his hand, “to take the Town
 “before *Christmas-day*.

WHEN this Account was presented to the Prince, he
 found it necessary, and resolv’d, to confirm what was proposed
 by the Commissioners, without which those Garrisons could
 not be supported ; yet deferr’d the settling thereof, till he came
 to *Barnstable*, being resolv’d speedily to go thither ; and, be-
 fore his coming thither, had sent to the Commissioners both
 of *Devon* and *Cornwall* to attend him ; which they did within
 a day or two after he came thither, together with *Sr John*
Berkley, and *Sr Richard Greenvil*. The Commissioners for
Devon very earnestly press’d the settling the Contributions in
 the manner before propos’d, and the regulating the Exorbitant
 Power of *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who rais’d what Money he
 pleas’d, and committed what Persons he pleas’d ; and the
 Commissioners from *Cornwall* presented a very sharp complaint
 against him, in the Name of the whole County, for several
 Exorbitances, and strange Acts of Tyranny exercis’d upon
 them : “That he had committed very many honest substan-
 “tial Men, and all the Constables of the East part of the
 “County, to *Lydford Prison* in *Devon-shire*, for no offence,
 “but to compel them to Ransom themselves for Money ; and
 “that his Troops had committed such outrages in the Coun-
 “try, that they had been compell’d, in open Sessions, to de-
 “clare against him ; and to Authorize the Country, in case
 “that he should send his Troops in such manner, to rise, and
 “beat them out ; which Declaration was produced, sign’d by
 all the Commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously
 affected to his Majesty ; and was indeed no other than a de-
 nouncing War against *Greenvil* ; and was excus’d by them

Transactions
at Barnsta-
ble : espe-
cially com-
plaints a-
gainst Sr R.
Greenvil.

“as an act of necessity to compose the People, who would otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the Throats of all his Men. So that, whoever would have made a judgement, upon what he heard from the Commissioners of *Devon* and *Cornwall* at that time, must have concluded, that *Sr Richard Greenvil* was the most justly odious to both Counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt he had behaved himself with great Pride, and Tyranny over them; though the Discipline he exercised over his Men at *Plymouth*, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any Man (which, considering the great assignment of Money he had, and the small Numbers of Men, was no hard matter to do) had raised him much Credit among the Country People, who had liv’d long under the Licence of Prince *Maurice’s* Army; and the fame of it had extended his Reputation to a greater distance.

THERE hath been too much said already, to discover the nature and the temper of this Gentleman, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars, with which the Prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disorder’d the whole business of *Devon* and *Cornwall*; and, indeed, thereby the whole West. There was one particular that made a great noise in the Country: shortly after he was deputed to that Charge before *Plymouth*, upon the hurt of *Mr Digby*, one *Brabant*, an Attorney at Law (who had heretofore solicited the great Suite against *Sr Richard* in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his Wife and the Earl of *Suffolk*, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the King’s Service) knowing, it seems, the nature of the Gentleman, resolv’d not to venture himself within the Precincts where he Com-manded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure Quarter; but was taken in his Journey, having a Mountero on his head. *Sr Richard Greenvil* had laid wait to apprehend him; and he likewise had conceal’d his Name; but, being now brought before *Sr Richard*, was immediately, by his own direction, without any Council of War, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a Spie: Which seem’d so strange and incredible, that one of the Council asked him, “whether it was true? And he answer’d very unconcernedly, yes, he had hanged him, for he was a Traytor, and against the King; and that he had taken a Brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had suffer’d him to be exchanged. He said, “he knew the Country talked, that he hanged him for revenge, because he had solicited a cause against him; but that was not the cause; though having play’d the Knave with him, he said smiling, “he was well content to find a just occasion to punish him.

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THE Prince was very unwilling to enter so far, and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either County, as thereby to be compell'd to censure, or to discountenance *Sr Richard Greenvil*; who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the Publick Service. Therefore his Highness resolv'd, according to the former design, to commit the business of *Plymouth* to *Sr John Berkley*; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from Imprisonment as had lain long enough there, and who made no other pretence to the Contribution, than according to the Assignments made by the Commissioners; and to dispose *Sr Richard Greenvil* to the Field, according to his own Proposition; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the Lord *Goring* having then written to the Prince, "to desire him, that, in regard very many of *Sr Richard Greenvil's* Soldiers before *Taunton* were run away, inasmuch that of the two thousand two hundred brought thither by him, there were not six hundred left, and that there could be no such expedient to bring them back, or to encourage the new Levies, as by his presence in that Army, that he would send *Sr Richard Greenvil* thither; where he should Command as Field-Marshal: To which purpose he had likewise written to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, perswading him, "that he should fix a Quarter towards *Lyme*, and have the whole managing of that Province: and so a very good correspondence was begun between them. Thereupon, his Commission of Field-Marshal of the Associated Army was deliver'd to him, with direction, "in the mean time to abide with the Lord *Goring*; who deputed him to Command in the same place. It is true that he then desired, "to continue the Command before *Plymouth* in Command, and to execute the same by his Major General; "but, he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his own Proposition, and Advice, and therefore that it could not be alter'd: And indeed would have prevented the satisfaction, which was to be given to the two Counties. Then he insisted very much upon some Assignment of Contribution for the Army; for, he said, "he neither would, nor could Command Men who were not paid. But after some sharp invectives against the excess and laziness of Governours, and the needless Contribution assign'd to Garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the Army must be provided out of *Somerset* and *Dorset*, he took his leave of the Prince; and with his Commission of Field-Marshal, went to the Lord *Goring* before *Taunton*; *Sr John Berkley* being at the same time dispatched to *Plymouth*.

ABOUT the beginning of *July* *Sr Thomas Fairfax* enter'd into *Somersetshire*; so that General *Goring* found it convenient

Sr T. Fairfax with his Army enters Somersetshire.

Back Go-
ring near
Lampert.

nient to draw off from *Taunton*, and seem'd to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lampert*, very advantagiously for defence, having a Body of Horse and Foot very little inferior to the Enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his Foot to moulder away before *Taunton*, for want of Provisions, and Countenance; when the Horse enjoy'd Plenty, even to Excess and Riot. He had been there very few days, when the Enemy, at Noon day, fell into his Quarters, upon a Party of Horse of above a thousand, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Porter*; who were so surpris'd, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the Enemy coming down the Hill, half a Mile at the least, yet the Enemy was upon them, before the Men could get upon their Horses; they being then feeding in a Meadow; so that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the Advantages of Passies, and Places of Advantage, another Party of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army; routed it; took two peices of Cannon; and pursued *Goring's* Men through *Lampert* (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced, and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secured his, and resisted their Army) and drove them to the Walls of *Bridge-water*; whither the Lord *Goring* in great disorder retir'd; and spending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon, Ammunition, and Carriages, and such Soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retir'd into *Devon-shire*; the Club-men and Country People infesting his march, and knocking all Straglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole Army, the Lord *Goring* retir'd to *Barnstable*: from whence (the Prince being gone some days before to *Launceston* in *Cornwall*) he writ to the Lord *Digby*, "that there was so great a terror, and distraction among his Men, that he was confident, at that present, they could not be brought to Fight against half their number. In the Letter he writ, "that he had then (being within three days after their rout, when very many Straglers were not come up) "between three and "four thousand Foot (Prince *Rupert's* Regiment being left in *Bridge-water*, consisting of above five hundred Men, and two hundred in *Barrow*, and five and twenty hundred Horse, besides *Sr Lewis Dives's* Regiment, and all the Western Horse) so that, by his Account, considering that there were not less than one thousand Men kill'd, and taken Prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to *Bristol*, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from *Taunton*, he had a strength little inferior to the Enemy.

511

Sir Thomas Fairfax then no more pursued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refresh, and recover themselves; whilst he himself intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*; which was exceedingly wonder'd at; though it was quickly discern'd, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time *General Goring* spent his time at *Barnstable*, and those parts adjacent; his Army Quartering at *Torrington*, and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the King's Service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the Enemy, he suffer'd all, who had a mind, to depart; insomuch, as he writ to the Lord *Cropper*, on the 27th of *July*, "that he had not above thirteen hundred Foot left. When he was at *Barnstable*, he gave himself his usual Licence of drinking; and then, inveighing against the Prince's Council, said, "he would justify that "They had been the cause of the loss of the West; inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the Person of the King, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertain'd himself to the end of *July*, writing Letters of discontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one day complaining for want of Money, and desiring the Prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted Supply for his own Table; and never receiv'd penny of the publick Collections, or Contributions: Another day, desiring, "that all Stragling Soldiers might be sent out of *Cornwall*, and drawn from the Garrisons, that he might advance upon the Enemy; and the next day proposing, "that all the Foot might be put into Garrisons; for that they could not be fit for the Field; so that before an Answer could be sent to his last Letter, another commonly arriv'd of a different temper.

Sir Richard Grenvil grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient, than the Lord *Goring*. He had left the Prince at *Barnstable*, well pleas'd with his Commission of Field-Marshal, and more that he should Command alone the blocking up of *Egmo*; which, he resolv'd, should bring him plenty of Money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on such a day appointed, "so many Men from the Garrisons of *Dartmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Barnstable*, should be drawn to *Tiverton*; "where they should receive Orders from *Sir Richard Grenvil*, "and joyn with such as he should bring from the Lord *Goring*, for making a Quarter towards *Egmo*; and Orders issued from his Highness accordingly. Those from *Exeter*, according to order, appear'd, at the time; and those from *Barnstable* and *Dartmouth*, march'd a day's Journey and more,

towards

towards *Tiverton*; but then, hearing that the Lord *Goring* was risen from *Taunton*, made a halt; and sent back to the Prince for Orders; who conceiv'd that, upon the rising of the Lord *Goring*, the design of fixing a Quarter upon *Lyme*, would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen *Barnstable*, where his own Person was; and recall'd those Men back thither; having dispatched Letters to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from *Dartmouth* and *Barnstable*; but letting him know, "that, if the design held, those of *Barnstable* should meet, where and when he would appoint.

Sr Richard Greenvil took an occasion, from the Soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at *Tiverton* (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design) to exclaim against the Prince's Council; and, the next day, in a Cover directed to *Mr Fanshawe*, who was Secretary of the Council, without any Letter, return'd the Commission of Field-Marshal; formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of *July*, he sent a very insolent Letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many undeserv'd abuses offer'd to him; implying, "that the same were fasten'd on him by Them, on "the behalf of *Sr John Berkley*; told them, that when they "moved him to give over the Command of the Forces before "*Plymouth* to *Sr John Berkley*, they had promised him the "Principal Command of the Army under the Prince: whereas the truth is before set down, that the Proposition was made by Himself, both of quitting that Charge, and of *Sr John Berkley's* taking it, as the only fit Person. He said, "he had hitherto serv'd the King upon his own Charge, and upon his "own Estate, without any allowance; and that, when he "went from *Barnstable*, he was promised a Protection for his "House and Estate; but when, after he was gone, his Servant brought a Protection ready drawn, all the Clauses that "comprehended any thing of favour, were left out; and such "a Protection sent to him as he cared not for. He concluded, "that he would serve as a Volunteer, till he might "have opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with his Sufferings. Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this Protection (which he took so ill to be denied) and the mention of Serving the King, without allowance, upon his own Estate, which he very often, and very insolently objected both in his Letters, and in his discourse to the Prince himself, to say somewhat of his Estate, and what small allowance, as he pretended, he had from the King for his Service.

When he came first into that Country, he had no Command at all; arm'd only with a Commission to raise a Regiment

ment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot ; of which, he never raised Horse or Man, till long after, that he came to the Command about *Plymouth*. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his Wife had an Estate, of about five hundred Pounds a year, about *Tavistock* and other parts of *Devon* ; but it is as true, that it was Convey'd before Marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to Friends in trust, that upon long Suits in Chancery, and in other Courts, in the time of Peace, there were several Judgements and Decrees in Chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his Wife, which was many years before, receiv'd the least benefit, or advantage from it. The first thing the King granted to him, was the Sequestration of all his Wife's Estate to his own use (she living then in the Rebels Quarters) upon which Title he settled himself in her House near *Tavistock* ; and, by virtue of that Grant, took all the Stock upon the Ground ; and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Arrears of Rent, or as much as he said was in Arrear ; which amounted to a very considerable value. When Colonel *Digby* receiv'd his unfortunate hurt, which render'd him for that time incapable to exercise his Command, *Sr John Berkley* very earnestly, and He only, moved Prince *Maurice*, to confer that Charge upon *Sr Richard Greenville*, and, though it was within a County of which he himself had the principal Charge as Colonel General, procur'd a full Commission for the other to Command those Forces in Chief ; and deliver'd, or sent the same to him ; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with much kindness. He had not then Commanded long, when the Earl of *Essex* came into those Parts ; whereupon he was compell'd to rise ; and after joyn'd with the King.

WHEN the Earl of *Essex's* Forces were dissolv'd, he was again design'd for that Service ; and before the King left the Country, he granted him the Sequestration of all the Estate of the Earl of *Bedford* in *Devon-shire*, all the Estate of *Sr Francis Drake* (by which he had *Buckland Monachorum*, which was his Quarter, whilst he block'd up *Plymouth* ; and *Worrington* by *Launceston*) in *Devon*, and the Lord *Roberts* his Estate in *Cornwall* ; all which, and his Wife's Estate, he enjoy'd by the Sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater Revenue than ever the owners did in time of Peace. For, besides that he suffer'd no part of these Estates to pay Contribution (whereby the Tenants very willingly paid their full Rents) he kept very much ground, about all the Houses, in his own hands ; which he stocked with such Cattle as he took from Delinquents ; for though he suffer'd not his Soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest plunderer

derer of this War; for whenever any Person had disobey'd, or neglected any of his Warrants, or when any Man fail'd to appear at the *Posse* (which he summon'd very frequently after he was Sheriff of *Devon*, and for no other end but the penalty of Defaulters) he sent presently a Party of Horse to apprehend their Persons, and to drive their Grounds. If the Persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their Stock to redeem their Persons. For the better disposing them thereto, he would now and then hang a Constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty : and if, out of the terror of this kind of Justice, Men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their Stock ; which was from thence quietly enjoy'd : so that he had a greater Stock of Cattle, of all sorts, upon his Grounds, than any person whatsoever in the West of *England*. Besides this, the ordering of Delinquents Estates in those Parts being before that time not well look'd to, by virtue of these Sequestrations, he seized upon all the Stock upon the Grounds, upon all the Furniture in the several Houses, and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Rents due from the beginning of the Rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast Stock, but received great Sums of Money, and had as great store of good Household-Stuff, as would Furnish well those Houses he looked upon as his own. This was his own Estate, upon which, he said, he had maintain'd himself, without any allowance from the King ; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his Contributions, which would always pay double the Men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other Arts, and Extortions of several kinds, was more, and more worth in Money to him, than his Majesty bestow'd upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, since the beginning of the Rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the Services he ever did ; and therefore (though they that are very good Witnesses, say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking *Plymouth* within few days, "his farther Guards were never nearer the Town, than the Lord *Hopton's* head Quarter "was the first day that he came thither) I shall leave that to other Men to make the particular Estimate.

Now when *St Richard Greenvil* desir'd at *Barnstable* Protection for his Houses and Estates, it was conceiv'd, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of Claim, some attempt be made upon his Stock by the Owners ; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an enquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as being design'd for the Publick Service, had been applied to his particular private Use ; as

having, with great importunity (as a thing upon which the Service depended) gotten from the Commissioners of *Devon* above a thousand Deal-boards, to make huts for the Soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding House at *Buckland*, for his own Pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a Person might easily be thought lyable to many trespasses, when he should be remov'd from the place where he Govern'd so absolutely. The Protection was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the Prince; but, after his departure, his Servant bringing such a Protection drawn, as exempted all those Estates which the King had Granted to him in Sequestration, from the payment of any Contributions (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal Persons of *Cornwall* had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their Rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, "that no Person there in Council, where-
"of some had Had very much greater Commands in Armies
"than He, and though others thought their Services deserved
"any reasonable Privilege, had been ever freed from Contri-
"bution) thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the Protection in a fuller manner still than ordinary, sign'd by the Prince; and *Sr John Berkley*, then present, declared (of which his Servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the Example, to put it in writing) "that he would not require any
"Contribution for that Estate which was his Wife's, and
"enjoy'd by him only by virtue of the Sequestration; and the denying of this Protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny Contribution before, or after, for all these Estates, but refus'd to pay the Fee-farm Rent, due to the King out of the Earl of *Bedford's* Estate, being two hundred Marks *per annum*, though the Auditor was sent to him to demand it; but this was merely an Act of his own Sovereignty.

AFTER this angry Letter to the Lords, and the throwing up his Commission without a Letter, and so having no Commission at all to meddle in Martial Affairs, he fixed a Quarter, with his own Horse and Foot, at *St Mary Ottred*, within nine or ten Miles of *Exeter*; where he govern'd as imperiously as ever; raised what Money he would, and imprison'd what Persons he pleased. In the end, *Sr John Berkley*, having appointed the Constables of those Hundreds which were assign'd for *Plymouth*, to bring in their Accounts of what Money they had paid to *Sr Richard Gretnull* (which, he protested, he did only that thereby he might state the Arrears, without the least thought of reproach to the other) he caused a Warrant to be read in all Churches in the County (that is, order'd it to be read in all, and in some it was read)

“that all Persons should bring him an Account of what Monies, or Goods had been plunder’d from them by *Sr John Berkley*, or any under him; with several Clauses very derogatory to his Reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begot great resentments; inasmuch as the Commissioners of *Devon* sent an Express to the Prince, who was then in *Cornwall*, beseeching him “to call *Sr Richard Grenvil* from “thence, and to take some Order for the suppressing the Furious inclinations of both sides, or else they apprehended, the “Enemy would quickly take an advantage of those Diffentions, and Invade the Country before they otherwise intended; and, in their Letter, sent one of the Warrants that *Sr Richard* had caused to be read in the Churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

HEREUPON, the Prince sent for *Sr Richard Grenvil* to attend him; who accordingly came to him at *Liskard*; where his Highness told him “the sense he had of his disrespect towards him, in the sending back his Commission in that manner; and of his carriage after; and asked him, “what Authority he now had either to Command Men, or to publish such Warrants? He answer’d, “that he was High Sheriff of *Devon*, and by virtue of that Office he might suppress any Force, or enquire into any grievance his County suffer’d; and, as far as in Him lay, give them remedy. He was told, “as Sheriff he had no power to raise or lead Men, “otherwise than by the *Possé Comitatus*; which he could not “neither upon his own head raise, without Warrant from the “Justices of Peace: that, in times of War, he was to receive “Orders, upon occasions, from the Commander in Chief of “the King’s Forces; who had Authority to Command him “by his Commission. He was asked, “what he himself would “have done, if when he commanded before *Phymouth*, the “High Sheriff of *Cornwall* should have caused such a Warrant “concerning Him to be read in Churches? He answered little to the Questions, but fully extolled his Services, and enlarged his Sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more Sharpness than ever before, and being told, “that, whatever discourses he made of spending his Estate, it was well “understood, that he had no Estate by any other Title than “the meer bounty of the King; that he had been counted by “the Prince more than he had reason to expect; and that he “had not made those returns on His part which became him; “In short, if he had inclination to serve his Highness, he “should do it in that manner he should be directed; if Not, he “should not, under the Title of being Sheriff, satisfy his own “Pride, and Passion (Upon which reprehension being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious Addresses which
had

had been made to him) he Answered, "he would serve the Prince in such manner, as he should Command; and thereupon he was discharged, and return'd to his House to *Worrington*, one of those places he had by Sequestration (It belong'd to *Sr Francis Drake*) where he liv'd privately, for the space of a Fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the Publick business. Let us now see how this Tragedy was acted in other places.

WE left the King at *Hereford*, not resolv'd what course to steer; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Bristol*, from whence he had made a short visit to the Prince at *Barnstable*, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the King in, and from thence went to *Goring* to consult with Him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what condition he was (for he was then before *Taunton*) and the Number of his Horse and Foot (which every body then thought had been his business to be inform'd of) he did not then hasten advice to the King, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure *Bristol*; which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing; and believ'd the Winter would come seasonably for future Counsels.

THE King quickly left *Hereford*, and went to meet the Commissioners for South Wales at *Abergavenny*, the Chief Town ^{the King goes to A-} in *Monmouth-shire*. As they were for the most part Persons ^{bergavenny} of the best Quality, and the largest Fortunes of those Counties, ^{to meet the} so they had manifested great Loyalty and Affection, from ^{Commissioners of South} the beginning of the War, by sending many good Regiments to the Army, and with their Sons, and nearest Kindred; many of whom had lost their lives Bravely in the Field: They now made as large and ample Professions as ever, and seem'd to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers should be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majesty went to *Ragland-Castle*, the Noble ^{Thence to} House of the Marquis of *Worcester*; which was well Fortify'd, ^{Ragland-} and Garrison'd by him; who remain'd then in it. There he resolv'd to stay, till he should see the effect of the Commissioners mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the Parliament Armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Monmouth* and *Gloucester*, or by the renewed troubles, which the presence of their Governour, General *Gerrard*, gave them (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskilful manager of the affections of the People; as having govern'd them with extraordinary rigour,

and with as little courtesie and civility towards the Gentry, as towards the Common People) there was little probability of raising an Army in those parts: where all Men grew less affected, or more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The King stay'd at *Ragland*, till the News came "that *Fairfax*, after he had taken *Leicester* (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions)" "was "marched into the West, and had defeated *Goring's* Troops at "*Lampert*"; and at the same time, that the *Scottish* Army was "upon its march towards *Worcester*, having taken a little Garrison that lay between *Hareford* and *Worcester* by Storm; and "put all within it to the Sword. And Prince *Rupert* sent for all those Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and part of those which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to supply the Garrison of *Bristol*: so that his Majesty seemed now to have nothing in his Choice, but to transport himself over the *Severn* to *Bristol*, and thence to have repair'd to his Army in the West; which would have been much better done Before, yet had been well done Then; and the King resolv'd to do so; and that the Horse under *Gerrard*, and *Langdale*, should find a Transportation over *Severn* (which might have been done) and then find the way to him, wherever he should be.

THIS was so fully resolv'd, that his Majesty went to the Water side near *Chepstow*; where Vessels were ready to Transport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Bristol* met him, very well pleased with the Resolution he had taken, though he had not been Privy to the Counsel. Here again the unhappy discord in the Court, raised new obstructions; they who did not love Prince *Rupert*, nor were lov'd by him, could not endure to think that the King should be so wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that his Majesty should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advis'd, though he liked it well enough; and so would not be answerable for any success. His Majesty himself being too irresolute, the Counsel was again changed, and the King marched to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was inform'd, that *Bridgewater* was lost: and then they, who had dissuaded the King's Embarkation for *Bristol*, were much exalted, and thought themselves good Counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even Then much better pursued; for nothing could have hinder'd his Majesty from going to *Exeter*, and joyning all his Forces; which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking *Bridgewater*, which the King had been perswaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to trust.

Thence to
Chepstow

Thence to
Cardiff.

St T. Fairfax takes
Bridgewater.

trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all Men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an Army; for it was so strongly Situated, and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary, by Fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a Governour (who had enjoy'd that Charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the King, "that it was not to be Taken) that it did not resist any the greatest strength that could come before it for one Week; and within less than that time, it was Surrender'd, and put into *Fairfax's* hands.

THAT this prodigious success on the Enemies side, should break the Spirits of most Men, and even cast them into despair; is not at all to be wonder'd at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a Peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that Men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting Enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a Treaty would now prevail, and produce a Peace; and every Man abounded so much in his own sense on this point, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The Commissioners of all Counties, which were the best Gentlemen, and of best Affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common People to his Service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concur with them in this judgement, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it, that they profess'd themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. This temper spread it self so universally, that it reached to Prince *Rupert* himself; who writ his Advice to that purpose to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be presented to the King; who took that occasion, to write the ensuing Letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own Soul, that no Pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, as a part of the Portraiture of that excellent Person; which hath been disguised by false, or erroneous Copies from the true Original; and follows in these words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the Month of Aug. 1645.

Nephew,

"THIS is occasion'd by a Letter of yours, that the Duke
"of *Richmond* shew'd me yesternight. And first, I assure you,
"I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise you

*The King's
Letter to
Prince Ru-*

*pert against
Treating of
Peace at
that time.*

X x 3

" of

"of my resolutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I en-
 "joyn'd silence to that which was no secret, it was not my
 "fault; for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have
 "been so now. As for the opinion of my business, and your
 "Counsel thereupon, if I had any other Quarrel but the de-
 "fence of my Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full
 "reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either
 "as to meer Soldier, or States-man, I must say, there is no
 "probability but of my ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell
 "you, that God will not suffer Rebels to prosper, or His
 "Cause to be overthrown: and whatsoever Personal punish-
 "ment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make
 "me repine, much less to give over this Quarrel; which, by
 "the Grace of God, I am resolv'd against, whatsoever it cost
 "me; for I know my obligations to be both in Conscience,
 "and Honour, neither to abandon God's Cause, injure my
 "Successors, nor forsake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter
 "my self with expectation of good success, more than this,
 "to end my days with Honour, and a good Conscience; which
 "obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that
 "God may in due time avenge his own Cause. Though I
 "must avow to all my Friends, that he that will stay with me
 "at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to dye for a
 "good Cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the
 "maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make
 "him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my Case
 "unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions,
 "which, by the Grace of God, I will not alter, they being
 "neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire
 "you not in any ways to hearken after Treaties; assuring
 "you, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offer'd
 "in my Name at *Uxbridge*; confessing that it were as great a
 "Miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I
 "should be, within a Month, in the same Condition that I
 "was immediately before the Battle of *Naseby*. Therefore,
 "for God's sake, let us not flatter our selves with these Con-
 "ceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are
 "desirous of a Treaty, will lose me so much the sooner.
 "Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already
 "done, apply your discourse according to my resolutions,
 "and judgement. As for the *Irish*, I assure you they shall not
 "cheat me; but it is possible they may couzen themselves:
 "for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not
 "grant to the *Irish* Rebels, never trusting to that kind of Peo-
 "ple (of what Nature soever) more than I see by their
 "Actions; and I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch, as
 "I am sure will please You, and all honest Men; a Copy
 "whereof,

"whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly,
 "be confident I would not have put you, nor my self, to the
 "trouble of this Letter, had I not a great estimation of you,
 "and a full confidence of your Friendship to

Your &c.

WHEN the King came to *Cardiff*, he was entertain'd with the News, "that the *Scottish* Army was set down before *Hereford*, and that, if it were not reliev'd within a Month, it "must fall into their hands. To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the Sheriffs of those *Welsh* Counties to Summon their *posse Comitatus*; whereby the King was perswaded to hope, that there would be Men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who with the Horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the *Scots*. But it was quickly discover'd, that this Expedient had rais'd an unruly Spirit, that could not easily be suppress'd again; for the discontented Gentlemen of those Counties, now they had gotten the People legally together, put them in mind of "the Injuries they had receiv'd "from General *Gerrard*, and the intolerable exactions they "lay under, which would undoubtedly be increased, if he "continued in that Government. So that, instead of providing Men to march with the King, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be reliev'd before they would apply themselves towards the relief of *Hereford*. All this was so sturdily urged, that a Body of no less than four thousand Men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compell'd to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insist'd upon; which was the removal of General *Gerrard* from having any Command over them; and that Charge was presently conferr'd upon the Lord *Astley*, the Major General of the Army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conform'd themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill Successes, could be expected by him.

BUT it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own Service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other Men's Humours and Appetites. *Gerrard* had now, upon the matter, the Command of all the Forces the King had to trust to in those Parts; and he was of too impetuous a Nature, to submit to any thing for Conscience, or Discretion, or Duty; so that the King was compell'd to satisfy his Ambition for this present degradation, by making him a Baron; and which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for

no other reason, than because there was once an Eminent Person, called *Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be Created Baron of *Brandon*, that there might be another *Charles Brandon*; who had no less aspiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the Lands of *Brandon*; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a Gallant and Worthy Gentleman *St Thomas Glemham*; who at the same time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at *Cardiff*, with about two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garrison of *Carlisle*; which place he had defended for the space of eleventh Months against *David Lesley*, and till all the Horses of the Garrison were eaten, and then had render'd, upon as honourable Conditions, as had been given upon any Surrender; *David Lesley* himself convey'd him to *Hereford*; where he joyn'd with the other part of that Army, and from thence *St Thomas Glemham* (who was by his Conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majesty at *Cardiff*, at the time when the Title of his own Land, which came to him by Inheritance, was conferr'd upon a Gentleman of another Family: who, how well extracted soever, was of less Fortune, and, as many thought, of no greater Quality, or Merit. This unseasonable Preferment more irritated the Country, from which the King then expected Assistance, that when they believ'd they had accused him of Crimes which deserv'd the highest Censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could ever probably have arriv'd to, but for that Accusation. Here the King, after all his endeavours were render'd fruitless, entertain'd a new imagination, that he might get into *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Montrose*, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left *Cardiff*; and, over the Mountains of *Brecknock*, and *Radnor*, pass'd the *Scottish* Quarters, and came to *Ludlow*, before that Army had any notice of his march.

WHEN the King came first to *Bagland*, he had sent an Express to the Prince, by which he wish'd "that the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his Majesty. The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the Messenger came not quickly to his Highness. The Chancellor being then unfit to Travel by reason of the Gout, the Lord *Colepepper* made all possible hast out of *Cornewal*, where the Prince then was, and found his Majesty at *Cardiff*, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to *Brecknock*; from whence he was again dispatch'd with this Letter, to the Prince; which, being the first direction the King gave of that Nature, is necessary to be here inserted in so many words.

Brecknock

Brecknock 5th August 1645.

Charles,

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with *Colepepper* this Morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readiest Obedience to it. Wherefore know that my Pleasure is, whensoever you find your self in apparent danger of falling into the Rebels hands, that you convey your self into *France*, and there to be under your Mother's care; who is to have the absolute full Power of your Education in all things, except Religion; and in That, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his specified absence. And for the performance of this, I Command you to require the Assistance and Obedience of all your Council; and, by their Advice, the service of every one whom You and They shall think fit to be employed in this business; which I expect should be perform'd, if need require, with all Obedience, and without grumbling: This being all at this time, from

The King's
Letter to the
Prince of
Wales from
Brecknock.

Your loving Father, Charles R.

AFTER the Lord *Goring* had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at *Barnstable*, he enter'd into correspondence with *Sr Richard Greenvil*; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the Council about the Prince as Himself; and finding that the Enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the Army was employed upon other important Service, They two met privately; and, upon the Encouragement and Money he receiv'd from *Greenvil*, he writ to the Chancellor a very chearful, and a very long Letter, bearing date the first of *August*, in which he inserted several Propositions; which, he said, had been framed "upon conference with *Sr Richard Greenvil*"; which he desired might be presented to the Prince; and if they should be consented to, and confirm'd by his Highness, he said, he would engage his life; that he would in a very short time have an Army of ten or twelve thousand Men, that should march wheresoever they should be Commanded; and should be in as good order, as any Army in the World; and concluded his Letter with these words; "I see some light now of having a brave Army very speedily on Foot, and I am sending a Copy of this inclosed Letter to the King, with this profession, that I will be content to lose my Life, and my Honour,

The Lord
Goring
makes Propositions to the
Prince:

"nour, if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be
"granted.

Which the
Prince
granted.

THIS Letter being presented to his Highness, then at *Launceston*, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of *August*, the Prince return'd him an Answer of full consent; and the same day Sign'd all the particulars proposed by him; expressing a further resolution "to add whatever else should be proposed to him, and within his Power to grant; so that there was once more a hope of looking the Enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the West. The next day, or thereabouts, *Sr Richard Greenvil* himself attended the Prince, in a seeming good humour; all the Propositions were immediately confirm'd; some of which were, "that *Sr Richard Greenvil* should receive such a proportion of the Contributions of *Cornwall*, and five thousand pounds of the Arrears, for the payment of the Officers of the Army; and thereupon *Sr Richard* would gather up all the Stragglers, who were return'd into *Cornwall* from their Colours; who, he said, would amount to three thousand Foot, and he would raise three thousand Foot more in *Devonshire*. So he betook himself again to Action, sending out his Warrants, and Levying Men and Money; having lent two hundred pounds to the Lord *Goring* at their first meeting, and calling the *posse* of *Devon* to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he pretended, he should speedily recruit the Army. But before the end of *August*, that Friendship grew colder; *Sr Richard* observing a better correspondence between the Lord *Goring*, and *Sr John Berkley*, than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord *Goring* used to mention him very slightly (which was true) he writ a very sharp Letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him. However he continued as Active as before, being now in *Devon*, and then in *Cornwall*, where he Commanded absolutely without any Commission, and very seasonably Suppressed an Insurrection about *Sr Ives*, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order without any Council of War; and raised what Money he pleased upon others; then return'd to his House at *Worrington*. All the Vivacity that had so lately appear'd in the Lord *Goring*, upon the news of the loss of *Sherborne*, declin'd; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of Money, and a Proposition to put the Army into Garrisons; although the Enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, *Fairfax* being then engaged with his Army before *Bristol*.

AS SOON as the Prince, who was then at *Launceston*, had read

read the Letter, which the Lord *Colepepper* brought to him from the King, he return'd it to the Lord *Colepepper* to keep, and to Communicate it to the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not so good Correspondence with the Earl of *Berkshire* (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as might have been wish'd; and from the Prince's first coming into *Cornwall*, some of his Servants of the best Quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, since the King's misfortune at *Naseby*, expressed their indispositions with more Licence, and whisper'd abroad "that there was a purpose of carrying the Prince into *France*, not that they believ'd it, but thereby thought to render the Council odious and suspected, had wrought so far upon the Earl of *Berkshire*, that He seem'd to believe it too, whereby they got so much interest in him, that he always Communicated whatsoever passed in Council to them; so that a Letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be Communicated to him, nor to the Earl of *Brentford*, who (though he was very kind, and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of Secrets. They were very much troubled at the sight of the Letter, not at the Command of leaving the Kingdom, for, though they had never Communicated their thoughts to each other upon that Subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the Resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the Rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian World. For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a Ship ready in the Harbour of *Falmouth*. But it troubled them, "that the King's Command was so positive for *France*, against which they "could make to themselves many Objections. Besides that, one of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, who was newly return'd from *Paris*, brought a Letter from the Earl of *Northumb*, then the King's Ambassador there, to one of the Council; in which taking notice of a report there of the Prince of *Wales*'s coming thither, he passionately declared against it, "as a certain Ruin "to the Prince; of which the Messenger, by His direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the Lord *Colepepper*, who brought that Letter from the King, averr'd, "that he had Had no conference "with the King upon the Argument, but had wholly declin'd it, as a matter too great for him: so that they had nothing before them but that Letter. After two or three sad Debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a Letter "to be prepared in Cipher, presenting their reasons, and "what

"what they had been inform'd concerning *France*; and therefore offer'd it to his Majesty, whether he would not leave the choice of the place to them, or nominate some other, against which so many exceptions might not be made; and proposed *Ireland* (if the Peace were made there) or *Scotland*, if the Marquis of *Montrose* was as Victorious as he was reported to be; withal assuring his Majesty, that in case of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any Country, before the Prince should fall into the hands of the Rebels. This Letter after it was Communicated with the Prince, as the Debates had been, was forthwith sent by an Express.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, the Lord *Goring*, after he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the Authors of all the Miscarriages, sent the Lord *Wintworth* to *Launceston* to his Highness, with certain demands, as he call'd them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he presented them to the Prince, he should Communicate them to the Lord *Colepepper*, or to the Chancellor, and be advised by them, in what manner to present them.

HIS Demands were, and so he styl'd them (1) To have a Commission to be Lieutenant-General of all the West, and to Command immediately under the Prince, Garrisons as well as the Army, and to be sworn of the Council as soon as might be. (2) That all Commissions to Officers of the Army, when his Highness is present, be given by the Prince; but that his Highness should Sign none but such as he should prepare for him. (3) That in the Prince's absence he should Sign, and grant all Commissions; and that, if any Governments of Towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a Negative Voice. (4) That all designs of Consequence should be debated, in the Prince's presence, by the Prince's Council, and such Officers of the Army as he should choose to assist at it. (5) That the Number of the Prince's Guards should be limited; and many other particulars, which seem'd so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the Lord *Colepepper* persuaded the Lord *Wintworth*, to suspend the presenting them; "the rather (as he said) because the Chancellor was then absent (being sent by his Highness to *Pembroke* Castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the Customs, but, in truth, to take care that the Frigate provided for the Prince's Transportation might be in readiness, and Victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on Board, when the occasion should require) "and likewise because his Highness intended to be shortly at *Bristol*, where

"the

“ the Lord *Goring*, being present, might better consider, and
 “ debate his own business ; to the which the Lord *Westworth*
 consented :

FOR the Commissioners of *Devon* had besought his High-
 ness to interpose his Authority, in the regulating and disposing
 the Army to march towards the relief of *Bristol* ; declaring,
 “ as the posture of it then was, that both that County, and
 “ Garrisons, must in a short time be as much undone, and lost
 “ by Them, as by the Invasion of the Enemy ; that all the
 “ Foot subsisted by, and liv’d upon, the Magazines of the Gar-
 “ risons ; and the Horse possessed the other part of the Coun-
 “ try to themselves ; and would neither suffer provisions to be
 “ brought to the Markets, for the replenishing their Stores,
 “ nor Warrants to be executed for any payments ; pretending
 “ they were to defend their own Quarters ; whilst themselves
 “ levied what Monies they pleased, and committed all sorts
 “ of insolencies and outrages. By this means both before in
Somersetshire, and afterwards in *Devonshire*, when the King’s
 Army was forced to retire, the Enemy found great plenty of
 Provisions in those Quarters, where His Forces had been in
 danger of starving : as, all about *Taunton*, there were very
 great quantities of Corn, when the King’s Forces had caused
 all their Bread to be brought out of the Stores of *Bridgewater*,
 and *Exeter* ; which proceeded partly from the negligence, and
 laziness of the Officers and Soldiers, who would not bear the
 trouble of threshing out the Mows, and Ricks, which were
 there ; but principally by the Protection given by the Horse ;
 who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their Quar-
 ters ; and such as sent their Provisions to Market, were sure
 to have their Money taken from them in their return. Infor-
 much as it was affirm’d by the Commissioners of *Exeter*, “ that
 “ before the Enemy had any Quarter within ten miles, there
 “ was not so much provision brought into that City in a Fort-
 “ night, as they spent in a day : which was only by reason of
 the disorder of our own Horse, General *Goring* being all this
 time in *Exeter*, breaking Jest, and Laughing at all People,
 who brought complaints to him ; as, one day, when the Fisher-
 men complained to him, “ that as they came to the Market,
 “ they were robbed by his Troopers, who took all their Fish
 “ from them, he said, “ that they might by this see what great
 “ Injury was done to his Men, by those who accused them
 “ of great Swearing ; for if they did Swear, you know (said
 “ he) they could catch no Fish.

UPON these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the Lord
Goring, and the Commissioners, the Prince, on *Friday* the
 29th of *August*, went from *Launceston* to *Exeter* in one day ;
 leaving *St Richard Greenvil* (who then seem’d to be in good
 humour)

humour) to bring up the Soldiers in *Cornwall*, and to hasten his Levies in the North and West parts of *Devon*. The Army having now lain still from the beginning of *July* to the end of *August*, without the least Action, or Alarm from the Enemy, and so being sufficiently refresh'd, and, as their Officers said, awaken'd to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a Council of War, his Highness being present, "that the Foot should presently advance to *Tiverton*; and the Horse to the East of *Exeter*; and that, as soon as *Sr Richard Greenvil* could come up with his Men, they should all advance to the relief of *Bristol*; which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last Messenger that came thence, assuring the Prince, as from *Prince Rupert*, that he was sufficiently provided with all Necessaries for six Months.

*A design to
Petition the
Prince to
send Conditions
of Peace,
prevented.*

THERE had been, from the time of the first going of the Prince into *Cornwall*, several rumours dispersed, as hath been said, by those who were discontented or angry with the Council, "that there was an intent to carry the Prince into *France*; which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse *General Goring* had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the Motives of his Highness's Journey to *Exeter*, that he might discountenance that Report; which had wrought so far amongst the Gentlemen of the several Western Counties, who were retir'd thither for Safety, that there was a Resolution among them "to Petition the Prince to interpose "between the King and the Parliament; and to send a Message to the latter with Overtures of Peace: and to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those Gentlemen, to agree upon what Articles the Prince should propose a Peace; every Man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, upon consideration of what had passed at *Uxbridge*. When my Lords of the Council heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the King's Service, and to the Prince; who, by being pressed by their desires, and importunities, would lose the honour and thanks of the good Success that might attend it: Besides that, if he should send any Message upon their Motion, they would quickly make Themselves Judges of the matter of it, and Counsellors of what was to be done upon it: therefore they were of opinion, "that all endeavours were "to be used to divert, and prevent any Petition of such a nature from being presented to his Highness; which, with great difficulty, was at last effected.

SHORTLY

SHORTLY after the Prince's coming to *Exeter*, the Lord *Goring* being not then well, but engaged in a course of Physick, desired that he might have a free Conference with one of the Council in private; in which, he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the Person he had desired, went to him one Morning to his Lodging; when he caused all Persons to withdraw; and bid his Servant not to suffer any Man to disturb them. When they were by themselves, he began with the discourse of "unkindnesses he had apprehended from the Council, and from that Person in particular; but confessed he had been deceiv'd, and abused by wrong information: that he was now very sensible of the damage that had befallen the Publick by those Private Jealousies and Mistakes; and desired, that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concern'd the King's Service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an assurance of that Person's Friendship. From this, he discoursed at large his apprehensions of his Brother *Porter*, of his Cowardice, and of his Treachery, with very great freedom in many particular instances; and concluded, "that he resolv'd to quit himself of him; and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concern'd his Father, in which he said, "he was to receive this Person's advice by his Father's direction (it being about the Government of *Pendennis*) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, "what he thought of the Demands he had sent by the Lord *Wentworth*? Protesting, "he had no private thoughts, but only an Eye to the Publick Service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of Affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified. The other told him; "that whatever He thought of them would not signify much, being but a single voice in Council; by the concurrent Advice whereof, he presumed, the Prince would govern himself. However, if he would have him tell him his opinion as a Friend, he would shew himself so ill a Courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reform'd him in his judgement, he should declare where it should be propos'd, and, he believ'd, it would be the opinion of most of the Lords, if it were not His. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, "that he thought his Demands not fit for the Prince to grant, nor seasonable for Him to ask; his Authority being the same, as to the Publick, all his Orders being Obey'd, and the Prince giving Him the same Assistance, as if he were his Lieutenant General:

"sual : that the Prince had not hitherto interposed his Authority in the governing that Army ; and therefore, that he conceiv'd it unreasonable, at that time, for his Highness to interest himself in the Command thereof ; which he should do by making him Lieutenant General : that the King having directed the Prince to make the Lord *Hopton* his Lieutenant General, it would not become Them to advise the Prince to alter that designation, without receiving his Majesty's Command : therefore he advised him, "since the alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing it, till the King's Affairs should be in a better Posture. Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince to that purpose at this time.

Prince Rupert delivers up Bristol.

ABOUT the middle of *September*, the Prince being still at *Exeter*, the News came of the fatal loss of *Bristol* ; which, as all ill accidents at that time did, cast all Men on their Faces, and damped all the former Vigour and Activity for a march. However, the former Resolution continued of drawing to *Tiverton*, and at least of defending those Passes, and keeping the Enemy from Invading *Devon* : for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to Fight, if *Fairfax* should advance, the Prince return'd to *Launceston* ; whither he Summon'd all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwall*, and an appearance of the whole Country ; which appear'd very cheerfully, and seem'd well inclined to march to *Tiverton*. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with the same Licence and Unconcernedness, remain'd at *Exeter*, to the great Scandal of the Country, and disheartning of the Army. About the latter end of *September*, his Lordship writ a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* ; in which he remember'd him of the Propositions formerly sent by the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceston* ; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had pass'd between the other Counsellor and Him, at *Exeter*, upon that Subject ; in which he charged the other with Answers very far from those he had receiv'd from him ; and desir'd his Lordship, "that, by His means, he might know positively what he was "to trust to ; concluding, "that without such a Commission "as he desir'd, he could not be answerable for the Mutinies "and Disorders of the Army. Whereupon his Highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his Service, if he should consent to the Matter of those Demands, or comply with the Manner of the demanding, sent him word, "that he would not for the present, grant any such "Commission ; and wished him "to pursue the former "Counsels and Resolutions, in advancing towards the Enemy ;

“all things being in a good forwardness in *Cornewal* to second him. And so there was no further pressing that Overture; however, he presum'd to style himself, in all his Warrants, and Treaties with the Commissioners, and in some Orders which he Printed, “General of the West.

THE suddain and unexpected loss of *Bristol*, was a new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King had left, and no less broke all the Measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contrived, than the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* had done. The King had made hast from *Ludlow*, that the *Scotish* Army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest passed through *Shropshire*, and *Derbyshire*, till he came to *Wellbeck*, a House of the Marquis of *New-Castle* in *Nottinghamshire*, then a Garrison for his Majesty; where he refreshed Himself, and his Troops, two days; and, as far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, “to march directly into *Scotland*, to joyn with the “Marquis of *Mountrose*; who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole Kingdom. During his Majesty's short stay at *Wellbeck*, the Governour of *Newark*, with the Commissioners for *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, repaired to him, as likewise all those Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* who had been in *Pontefract*-Castle (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for meer want of all kind of Provisions, Surrender'd upon good conditions; whereby, “all the Soldiers had liberty to repair to their “own Houses, and might live quietly there) whereupon the Gentlemen assured the King, “they were as ready as ever to “serve him, when they should be required. Whether the wonted irresolution of those about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the Gentlemen, that a body of Foot might be speedily gather'd together in those parts (which was enough encouraged by the chearfulness of all the Gentlemen of the several Counties) prevailed, or not, so it was, that the King was perswaded, “that it was not best to continue his “march, with that speed he intended, towards *Mountrose*; “but that it would be better to send an Express to him, to “agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in the mean “time, his Majesty might be able to refresh his wearied “Troops, and to raise a Body of Foot in those parts. To which purpose, *Doncaster* was proposed as a fit place to begin in: and to *Doncaster*, thereupon, the King went; and the Gentlemen so well perform'd their undertaking, that, within three ^{The King goes to Don-} days, there was an appearance of full three thousand Foot; ^{caster.} who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed; and ready to march with his Majesty, what way soever he would go.

HERE again the King's froward Fortune, deprived him
Vol. II. Part 2. Y y of

of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of War. That very Night, they receiv'd Intelligence, "that *David Lesley* "was come to *Rotberam* with all the *Scotish* Horse; which was within ten miles of *Doncaster*. The News whereof so confounded them (as beaten and baffled Troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the fight of an Enemy) that they concluded "he came in pursuit "of the King, and therefore that it was now too late to proceed upon their Northern Expedition, and that the King "must speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security. Whereupon, he made hast (without expecting that recruit of Foot) from *Doncaster*, back again to *Newark*; Resolving then to go directly to *Oxford*; whereas, in truth, *David Lesley* knew nothing of the King's being in those parts; but, upon suddain Orders from *Scotland*, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the Horse, to relieve his own Country from being totally overrun and subdued by the Marquis of *Mountrose*; who had then actually taken *Edenborough*. The Orders had no sooner come to the *Scotish* Army before *Hereford*, but he begun his march, without the least apprehension of any Enemy in his way, till he should come into *Scotland*; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his Troops that Night into *Rotberam*. And he confessed afterwards, "if the King "had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he "had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, "and had absolutely preserv'd *Mountrose*. But by his so suddain retreat, *David Lesley* was at liberty to pursue his march for *Scotland*, and came upon *Mountrose*, before he expected such an Enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compell'd with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and *Lesley* return'd time enough to relieve and support the *Scotish* Army, after they were compell'd to rise from *Hereford*.

Thence to
Newark.

Mountrose
defeated by
David
Lesley.

The King
goes to Ox-
ford:

THE King now, with great expedition, prosecuted his Journey to *Oxford*, though not without making some Starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some Quarters of new levied Horse for the Service of the Parliament; and, before the end of *August*, he arrived at *Oxford*; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to *Worcester*, with a resolution to attempt the relief of *Hereford*; which had defended it self bravely, and very much weaken'd the *Scotish* Army by frequent Sallies. They had only a Body of eight hundred tired Horse remaining, which *David Lesley* left behind him when he marched with the rest into *Scotland*; and therefore the raising that Siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his Majesty left *Oxford*.

Oxford the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at *Ragland*, he was certainly inform'd, "that *Fairfax* had Be-^{Thence to} "sieged *Bristol*; for which no body underwent any trouble; *Ragland* for all Men looked upon that place as well Fortified, Manned, and Victualled; and the King even then receiv'd a very chearful Letter from Prince *Rupert*; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four Months. So that the Siege being begun so late in the year, as the beginning of *September*, there was reasonable hope that the Army might be ruined, before the Town taken. Therefore the King prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of *Hereford*. And as he was upon his March thither, he receiv'd Intelligence, "that the *Scotish* Army, upon the notice of his Purpose, was "that Morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and re-^{The Scots} "solv'd to make their retreat on the *West* side of the River, ^{rise from be-} "and so to pass through *Glocester*. This news was so wel-^{low Here-} come, and his Majesty was receiv'd with so full joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he slipp'd the opportunity he then had of discommoding at least, if not ruining the *Scotish* Army; which now passed through a strange Country, where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely odious to the People. Nor would the Governour of *Glocester* suffer them to pass through his Garrison, till they sent him word plainly "that if they might not pass through that Town, they "knew they should be very welcome to pass through *Worcester*; by which Argument he was convinced; so that he permitted them to go through that Town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the North. If, in all this time, they had been pursued by the King's Horse, considering the small Body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made very many, if not the greater part of that Army, had been destroyed.

But the King's heart was now so wholly set upon the Relief of *Bristol*, that nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the King, from *Hereford*, advertised Prince *Rupert*, "that he had raised the Siege of *Hereford*, and that the *Scots* were marched Northward; that he "intended speedily to relieve him; and in order to it, that he "had then commanded General *Goring*, to draw what force "he could out of the West; and to march to the *Somersetshire* side of *Bristol*; and that his Majesty would himself have a "Body of three thousand Foot, drawn out of the several Garrisons of those parts, which should pass over the *Severn*, about *Berkley* Castle on *Glocestershire* side; and that his Horse, "which were then above three thousand, should at the same "time Ford the *Severn* not far from *Glocester* (as they might have done) "and so joyn with his Foot; and by this means,

Y y 2

"all

"all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on "*Fairfax* his Quarters on both sides. And the better to bring all this to pass, the King himself went the second time to *Ragland*, the House of the Marquis of *Worcester*; sending the Horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was form'd for the relief of *Bristol*.

BUT when the King came to *Ragland*, he receiv'd the terrible information of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not have been believ'd. With what indignation, and dejection of mind, the King receiv'd this Advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down, in the very words of it, the Letter which the King writ thereupon to Prince *Rupert*; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his Majesty had ever shew'd towards that Prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incens'd by that Act; which yet he took some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would allow himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As soon as he receiv'd that surprising Intelligence, he presently remov'd from *Ragland*, and return'd to *Hereford*, the Post he chose wherein to consider the desperateness of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose, he sent Orders "for all the Officers, and "their Troops, which had been sent into *Shropshire*, *Worcester-shire*, and *South Wales*, to provide for the relief of "*Bristol*, to attend him there. And as soon as he came to *Hereford*, he dispatch'd an Express with this Letter to Prince *Rupert*.

Hereford 14th Sept. 1645.

Nephew,

The King's
Letter to
Prince Ru-
pert upon
his Surrender
of Bristol.

"THOUGH the loss of *Bristol* be a great blow to me, yet
"your Surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to
"me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of
"that place, but is likewise the greatest Trial of my con-
"stancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done,
"after one that is so near me as You are, both in Blood and
"Friendship, submits himself to so mean an Action? (I give
"it the easiest term) such---- I have so much to say, that I
"will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgement be
"laid to my charge, I must remember you of your Letter of
"the 12th of *August*, whereby you assured me, that, if no
"Mutiny happen'd, you would keep *Bristol* for four Months.
"Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a
"Mutiny? More Questions might be asked, but Now, I
"confess, to little purpose: My conclusion is, to desire you
"to seek your Subsistence, until it shall please God to deter-
"mine

“ mine of my Condition, somewhere beyond Sea; to which
 “ end I send you herewith a Pass; and I pray God to make
 “ you sensible of your present Condition, and give you means
 “ to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater
 “ joy in a Victory, than a just occasion without blushing to
 “ assure you of my being

Your loving Uncle, and most faithful Friend, C. R.

WITH this Letter, the King sent a Revocation of all Commissions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert*, and signified his Pleasure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, whither Prince *Rupert* was retired with his Troops from *Bristol*, “ that they should require Prince *Rupert* to deliver into their hands his Commission. And whether the King had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in *Oxford*, or whether it was the effect of other Men’s Counsels, his Majesty, at the same time, sent a Warrant likewise for the present Imprisonment of Colonel *Leg* (who was Governour of *Oxford*) as a Person much in the Prince’s favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his Commands. But this circumstance of rigour, made the other judgement upon the Prince thought to be over sudden, “ that He should be made the first Example of the King’s Severity, when so many high Enormities, and Miscarriages of others, had passed without being call’d in question. And as no body suspected the Prince’s want of Duty in submitting to the King’s Pleasure, so Colonel *Leg* was generally believ’d to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to the King, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the Governour, made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some Potent Adversaries, than of the King’s own Severity.

WHEN the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceston* from *Exeter* (which was about the middle of *September*) after the loss of *Bristol*, and the motion of the Enemy inclined Westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Train’d-bands of *Cornwall* to *Launceston*, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march Eastward; it being agreed at *Exeter*, “ that, “ if the Enemy gave time, the force of both Counties (save “ what was necessary to be continued at *Plymouth*) should be “ drawn to *Tiverton*, and, upon that Pass, to Fight with the “ Rebels; for the better compassing whereof, it was Order’d, “ that *Sr Richard Greenville* should Command all the *Cornish* “ Train’d-bands, whereunto should be added his own three “ Regiments, which he had formerly carried to *Taunton*; who took themselves to be so disobliged, both Officers and Soldiers (as in truth they were) by the Lord *Goring*, that they were

absolutely disbanded; and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be Commanded by *Sr Richard Greenvil*. Things being thus settled, *Greenvil* seem'd well satisfied, having all the respect, and encouragement from the Prince that was desired, or could be given; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a Letter either to the Prince himself, the Lords, or Mr *Fanshaw*, Extolling himself, and Reproaching the Lord *Goring's* plundering Horse, and sometimes *Sr John Berkley*; in all which he used a very extraordinary Licence.

DURING the Prince's being at *Exeter*, *Sr John Berkley* had desired, "that, in respect his continual presence would be necessary at *Exeter*, since the Enemy apparently looked that way, his Highness would dispose the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth*, to such a Person as He thought fit; who might diligently attend that Service. There was a general inclination to have sent back *Sr Richard Greenvil* to that Charge, which it was visible he looked for; but there were three great points to be consider'd; The first, the pretence that General *Digby* had to that Command; to whom it Originally belonged; and both He, and the Earl of *Brissol*, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recover'd in his health, that he was well able to execute the Command: The next, that if it should be offer'd to *Greenvil*, he would insist upon such assignments of Contributions, as would make the subsistence of the Army, and of the Garrisons impossible; the last and the greatest, was, that the whole design being now to draw such a Body together, as might give the Rebels Battle, this could not be without the *Cornish* Train'd-bands, and those other Soldiers, who had run from their Colours; neither of which, would march without *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and it was apparent, if he went to *Plymouth*, those old Soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching Army; where there was a great dearth of good Officers. Hereupon, it was resolv'd that General *Digby* should again resume the Charge about *Plymouth*, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the Enemy, he was to receive Orders from *Sr Richard Greenvil*; and accordingly, upon *Sr Richard Greenvil's* advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Okington*, *Digby* was order'd so to do; which he observ'd accordingly.

IN the beginning of *October*, the Lord *Goring* perswaded the Commissioners of *Devon*, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the Soldiery, and that the Markets should be free, "to double the Contribution of the
"County

“County for six Weeks, and to assign half thereof to his
 “Army; by virtue whereof he raised vast Sums of Money;
 but abated nothing of the former disorders, and pressures: and
 the Money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed
 amongst the Soldiers, was disposed to such Persons as he
 thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no sooner was *Sr*
Thomas Fairfax advanced as far as *Cullampton*, than the Lord
Goring gave over the thought of defending *Devon*, and, by his
 Letter of the eleventh of *October* to the Lord *Colepepper*, said,
 “that he had sent all the Horse, but one thousand, West-
 “ward, under the Command of the Major General, to joyn
 “with the *Cornish*; who were to advance; and that Him-
 “self, with one thousand Horse, and all his Foot, resolv’d to
 “stay in *Exeter* to defend that Town, if the Enemy came
 “before it; or to be ready to attend their Rear, if they march’d
 “forward; and therefore desired, “that his Highness would
 “appoint whom he thought fit, to give Orders to the Lord
 “*Wentworth*, his Major General, who was prepared not to
 “dispute Orders sent by any Substituted by the Prince. Here-
 upon, the Prince had appointed *Sr Richard Greenvil* “to ad-
 “vance with the *Cornish* to *Okington*, and directed the Major
 General “to receive Orders from him: But, by that time
 they two had disposed themselves in Order, as they did very
 handsomely and chearfully, General *Goring* changed his mind,
 and within four days after his former Letter, he retired with
 his thousand Horse out of *Exeter* to *Newton Bushell*; and
 then sent to the Prince, by a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*,
 to know “whether *Sr Richard Greenvil* should receive Orders
 “from him; and offer’d to undertake any design with *Sr*
 “*Richard Greenvil*, or by Himself, as the Prince should di-
 “rect; or that if his Presence and Command should be
 “thought, on the account of any indisposition in the *Cornish*
 “towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the
 “Service, he would willingly, for that Expedition, resign his
 “Command to any Person the Prince would design for it:
 intimating withal, “that if the Lord *Hopton* had it, the Lord
 “*Wentworth* would willingly receive Orders from him. His
 Highness, the next day, writ to him, “that he committed
 “the management of the whole to his Lordship; and had Com-
 “manded *Sr Richard Greenvil* to receive Orders from him,
 “who had then a good Body of *Cornish* with him, and power
 “to draw off the Men from *Plymouth*, if there should be
 “occasion.

THE King’s having been in that perpetual motion, as hath
 been mention’d before, kept the Express that had been sent to
 him from the Counsellors, upon the first signification of his
 Pleasure concerning the Prince’s Transportation into *France*,

from delivering that Letter for some time. So that it was the middle of *October*, before they receiv'd his Majesty's further direction. Then this Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* was brought back by the same Express.

Colepepper,

The King's
Letter con-
cerning the
Prince of
Wales.

"I HAVE seen and consider'd your dispatches ; and for this time you must be content with Results without the Reasons, leaving you to find them ; Lord *Goring* must break through to *Oxford* with his Horse, and from thence, if he can, find me out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be ; the Region about *Newark* being, as I conceive, the most likely place. But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is, that, with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, Prince *Charles* be Transported into *France* ; where his Mother is to have the sole care of him, in all things but one, which is his Religion ; and that must still be under the care of the Bishop of *Salisbury* ; and this I undertake his Mother shall submit unto : concerning which, by my next dispatch, I will advertise Her ; this is all ; So I rest

Your most assured Friend, *Charles R.*

THOUGH this Letter was writ after the loss of *Whistol*, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the West were not thought desperate ; and it was absolutely concluded between the Lords, that, as the Person of the Prince was never to be in hazard of being surprized, so he was not to be Transported out of the King's Dominions, but upon apparent, visible necessity, in point of safety : And the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the Lord *Goring* and others, enviously whisper'd, to the great disheartning of the People ; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going, might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole West, both Garrisons, and Army, would immediately have attended that Action, and therefore they thought, they should be absolv'd, in point of duty, by the King, if they only preserv'd themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his Command at that time ; especially since General *Goring* thought it not reasonable to observe the Orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the King, nor so much as advis'd with his Highness, or Communicated that he had receiv'd any such Orders ; and yet his Highness let him know, that he was well content, that he should break through with his Horse to the King ; which he might have done.

THE Enemy, having gain'd *Truerton*, made no great halt to the West of *Exeter*, but spent their time in Fortifying some Houses

Houses near the Town, on the East side, without receiving the least disturbance from the Army; the Lord *Goring* entertaining himself in his usual jollity between *Exeter*, *Totness*, and *Dartmouth*; it being publickly spoken in *Exeter*, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to leave the Army, and speedily to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant General *Porter* resolv'd to go to the Parliament; long before the Prince understood General *Goring*'s resolution to go into *France*, by any intimation from himself. The twentieth of November, his Lordship writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord *Wentworth*, "that, now that the Enemy and his Lordship were settled in their Winter Quarters (whereas the Enemy was then as stirring as ever) "he did beg leave of his Highness to spend some time for the recovery of his health, in *France*; intimating, "that he hoped to do his Highness some notable Service by that Journey; and desired, "that his Army might remain entirely under the Command of the Lord *Wentworth* (whereas, not above a Fortnight before, he had writ, "that the Lord *Wentworth* was very willing to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*) until his return; "which, he said, should be in two Months; and so having dispatched the Lord *Wentworth* with this Letter to the Prince to *Truro*, his Lordship, never attending his Highness's leave or approbation, went the same, or the next day, to *Dartmouth*; where he stay'd no longer than till he could procure a passage into *France*; whither, with the first wind, he was Transported; Lieutenant General *Porter*, at the same time, declining the Exercise of his Command, and having receiv'd several Messages, Letters, and a Pass from the Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge whereof, General *Goring* sign'd a Warrant for the Levying two hundred pounds upon the Country for the bearing his Charges. The Lord *Wentworth*, at the time of his being then at *Truro*, told some of his confidants, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to return no more to the Army, or into *England*; but rely'd upon Him to preserve the Horse from being engaged, till he could procure a Licence from the Parliament to Transport them, for the Service of a Foreign Prince, which would be a fortune to the Officers. And the Major General said afterwards at *Launceston*, that he could not understand the Lord *Goring*'s designs; for that, at his going from the Army, he gave the Officers great charge to preserve their Regiments, for he had hope to get leave to Transport them; and within few days after he arriv'd at *Paris*, he sent Captain *Porridge* into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle Horses, and Horses of Service, upon pretence that he was to present them in *France*; though at the same time he assured his Friends, "that he was

This Lord
Goring re-
sires into
France.

return-

“returning speedily with Men and Money; which was not the more believ’d by his sending for his Horses.

THOUGH there had been no great Modesty used in the discourses of the People towards General *Goring*, from the time of his first fastning in the West, especially of the *Cornish*, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and contempts of them (as he would usually before *Taunton*, when he view’d his Foot, clap an *Irish*-man, or one of those Soldiers who came out of *Ireland*, who doubtless were good Men, on the Shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, “that he was worth ten *Cornish* Cowards, the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes depending upon the *Cornish*, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had serv’d the King) yet from the time that he left the Army, and went for *France*, they gave themselves a greater Licence; and declar’d, “that he had, from the beginning, Combined with the Rebels; and having wasted and ruined all the Supplies which “had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and odious “Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to a County more “justly incens’d, and consequently more merciless than they. “They compared the loss of *Weymouth*, in the view of his “Army, after he had been in the Town, and when the whole “direction was in him, with the Counter-suffle at *Petberton*- “Bridge, when two of his own Parties, pursuing the Orders “they had receiv’d, Fought with each other, whilst the Enemy retired to their own strengths: they remember’d the “voluntary, wanton, incensing the Country; the discountenancing the Garrison of *Lampport*, and dissolving it; the eating the Provisions of the rest; the cherishing the Club-men; “and the lying with his whole Army before *Taunton* full six “Weeks (after he had declared the Enemy to be in his Mercy, within six days) and in that time (pretending that he “would in few days starve them) he suffer’d great quantities “of Provisions to be carried into them, through his own “Quarters, and several Interviews, and private Meetings to “be by his Brother *Porter* (whose Integrity he had before suspected) and the chief Officers of the Rebels: the neglecting “his Body of Foot, during the time that he lay before *Taunton*, by which he suffer’d above two thousand to run away. “They talked of the beating up his Head Quarter the day “before the Rout at *Lampport* at Noon-day, for which no “Man was ever called to a Council of War; and that total “Rout at *Lampport*, as two of the most supine, and unsoldierly “Defeats, that were ever known; before which, or in those “streights, or upon any other occasions of Advice, that he “never called a Council of War to consider what was to be
“done;

“done; and in that last business of *Lampert*, himself was so far from being present, that coming in great disorder to *Bridgewater*, he said, he had lost his Foot, and Cannon; which indeed were brought off entirely by the care, and diligence of the Lord *Wentworth*, and *Sr Joseph Wagstaff*. They talked of his unheard of neglecting the Army, after that Retreat at *Bridgewater*, inasmuch as of between three and four thousand Foot, which himself confessed he had after that business (and if his loss had been no greater than he own'd, must have been a far greater Number) within sixteen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor ever after recover'd a Man, but what was gotten up by the Activity and Authority of the Prince. Lastly, they remember'd his lying in *Devon-shire* from the beginning of *July*, which was about the time of his Retreat from *Lampert*, to the end of *November*, when he went to *France* (which was five Months) with a Body of above four thousand Horse and Foot; destroying, and irreconciling the Country to the King, and the Cause, without making the least attempt, or in any degree looking after the Enemy; whilst the Rebels, by formal Sieges, took in the Garrisons of *Bridgewater*, *Sherborne*, and *Bristol*, and many other important holds.

UPON the whole matter, comparing his Words, and his Actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, “that if he had been confederate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the West, he could not have taken a more effectual way to do it; since he had not interest enough by any Overt Act to have put it into their power; and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his Wit, Courage, and Conduct, than of his Conscience, and Integrity, presum'd the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many discourses negligently let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters, “that they were Sure enough of *Goring*; and by *Sr Thomas Fairfax's* applying himself to the taking those strong places after the Rout at *Lampert*, without ever considering or looking after the Lord *Goring's* Army; which he could not but know consisted of a Body of Horse, equal in Number to his own; and had reason to apprehend those two Populous Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, could quickly recruit the Foot; which negligence (said they) *Fairfax* could never be guilty of, if he had not been well assured, that those Forces should work them no inconvenience; besides that, being unpursued, *Goring* might easily have made an escape, and join'd with the King, and so have diverted all the Enemies designs upon the West.

OTHERS, who were not enough in love with the Lord *Goring*,

Goring, to desire to be joyn'd with him in any Trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolv'd him from any Combination with the Enemy, or design of Treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the West; and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that Command, and so not making hast, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those Parts, and be call'd to the King; for without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between Him and Prince *Rupert* to that degree, that all the Countenance General *Goring* receiv'd from Court in prejudice of the Prince's Authority, and of his Council, was procur'd for him purely by that Prince; who in one of his Letters to him, at such time as he was before *Taunton*, used these words; "what you desire in your Letter, on the 22^d of *May*, shall be observ'd; "and assure your self that Prince *Rupert* shall maintain General *Goring*'s Honour and Power, and shall lose his Life, "rather than General *Goring* shall suffer for Prince *Rupert*; which Letter (as he did any others, which he receiv'd from his Majesty, or the Secretaries, in Cipher) he Communicated to the Company in all his Acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolv'd never to be in the same Army with Prince *Rupert* under his Command; and all his loose and scandalous Speeches, they imputed to an innate licence he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate Oversight, to the lazyness and unactivity of his Nature; which could better pursue, and make Advantages upon good Successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and streights. And they who had been nearest the Observation, found a great difference between the presentness of his Mind and Vivacity in a suddain Attempt, though never so full of Danger, and an Enterprize that requir'd more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his Mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observ'd to give over a Game, sooner than Gamesters that have been thought to have less Fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the Persons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular Ambition; and both those Passions of Ambition, and Revenge, might transport his Nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the Officers, for the keeping the Horse for the Service of some Forreign Prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a Body of Foot; and so that they should not be forward to engage with the Enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the Officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

WHILST

WHILST *St Richard Greenvil* stay'd at *Okington*, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the Prince, or Lords, in Writing; one of which was, "to cut a deep Trench from *Barnstable* to the South Sea, for the space of near forty Miles; by which, he said, he would defend all *Cornwall*, and so much of *Devon*, against the World; and many such impossible Undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that Nature, thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the Train'd bands of *Cornwall* return'd to their Homes (having stay'd out their Month; which was their first Contract) *St Richard Greenvil* stay'd still at *Okington*, with his three Regiments of old Soldiers, having barricadoed the Town; the Pass being of very great importance to hinder the Enemy from any Communication with *Plymouth*. And indeed the Reputation of his being there with a greater Strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the Rebels on the East side of *Exeter*; as appears by their suddain Advance, as soon as he remov'd from that Post; which he did about the end of *November*, without giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, who were then at *Exeter*, and hearing of his Resolution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove. He suddainly retir'd with his three Regiments from *Okington* into *Cornwall*, and Muster'd his Men upon the River *Tamar*, that divides *Cornwall* from *Devon*, with express Command "to Guard the Passes, and not to suffer any of the Lord *Goring's* Men, "upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into *Cornwall*. For the better doing whereof, he caused the Country to come in to work at their Bridges, and Passes, as he had done before, most unreasonably, for the Fortifying of *Lanncoston*; and caused Proclamations, and Orders of his own, to be read throughout *Cornwall*, in the Churches, "that if any "of the Lord *Goring's* Forces (whom in those Writings he charged with all the odious Reproaches for Plundering) "should offer to come into *Cornwall*, they should Ring the "Bells, and thereupon the whole County should Rise, and "beat them out; by these unheard of, and unwarrantable means, preparing the Country to such a hatred of the Lord *Goring*, and his Forces, that they rather desir'd the Company of the Rebels; so alienating all Mens Spirits from resisting of the Enemy; and all this without so much as Communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

ABOUT the last week of *November*, he came himself to *Truro* to the Prince, on the same day that his Highness had receiv'd Letters from the Lords at *Exeter*, of the extreme ill Consequence of *St Richard Greenvil's* drawing off from *Okington*;

son; upon encouragement whereof, a strong Party of the Enemy was come to *Kirton*. Whereupon his Highness sent for *St Richard Greenvil*; and, in Council, acquainted him with those Letters, and other Intelligence that he had receiv'd of the Enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his Highness any more, but returning to his House at *Worrington*, he writ a long Letter to *Mr Fanshaw* of his Advice, which he desired might be Communicated to the Lords; which was, "that his Highness should send to the Parliament for a Treaty, "and should offer, if he might enjoy the Revenue of the "Dutchy of *Cornwal*, and that they would not advance to "disturb him in that County, that he would not attempt any "thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom "of all their Ports in *Cornwal* for Trade, without any disturbance by his Majesty's Ships: and so, in plain *English*, to sit still a Neuter between the King and the Parliament, at a time when there was a Body of Horse Superior to the Enemy in those Parts; and when an equal proportion of Foot might have been gotten together; and when his Majesty had not the face of an Army in any other part of *England*. The Prince was very much troubled at this Letter, and the more, because he found *St Richard Greenvil* had contracted a great friendship with such of his Highness's Servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the Honour, and Prosperity of the King; and because he had discover'd he laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the Governour of *Pendennis* Castle, "that the Prince intended to remove him "from that Command, and to confer it upon the Lord "Hopton; to which purpose he had written to the Governour from *Okington* (when the Lord *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the Fortifying and Supplying that Castle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards) "that the Lord "Hopton had a Commission to take that Charge from him; "but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon "him; for He, and all his Friends, would stick to him in it: Whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that Government.

SHORTLY after that Letter of the 27th, *St Richard Greenvil* writ again to *Mr Fanshaw*, to know how his Propositions were approv'd; to which, by direction, he return'd, "that "the Council had not been yet together since the receipt of "them; the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, being not then return'd from *Exeter*; and that therefore his Propositions had "not been yet Debated. He proceeded in the mean time in his Fortifications there, and, about the middle of *December*,

the Prince continuing at *Truro*, he sent several Letters to the Gentlemen of the County "to meet him at *Launceston*: One of which Letters I saw, to Colonel *Richard Arundel*; in which, "He desired him to bring as many Gentlemen, and "others of Ability, as he could, as well the disaffected, as "well-affected; for that he intended to Communicate to them "some Propositions, which he had formerly prefer'd to the "Prince, and though they were not hearken'd to There, he "believ'd would be very acceptable to his Country-men of "*Cornwall*: but the Prince's suddain going to *Tavistock* disappointed that meeting.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring's* going into *France*, the Prince, being inform'd from *Exeter*, "that the Enemy, at "the same time having finished their works, which kept the "City from any Relief on the East side, were now drawing "their Forces to the West side, whereby that City would be "speedily Distressed; thought it necessary to send the Lords *Brentford*, *Capel*, *Hopton*, and *Colepepper*, to confer with the Lord *Wentworth*; who lay then at *Alb-Burton*, six miles from *Totness*, and with *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who was ready to draw some Foot into *Devon*, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the Service might proceed: their Lordships being directed, by Instructions under his Highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the Forces, and conference with the Lord *Wentworth*, and *Sr Richard Greenvil*, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the Relief of *Exeter* (the Prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready Money to two Merchants of *Exeter*, for Provision of *Corn* for that City) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have receiv'd, and followed the advice which their Lordships should give.

THE place of meeting was appointed to be *Tavistock*; where every body was, save the Lord *Wentworth*; but He failing, the Lords, having directed *Sr Richard Greenvil* how to dispose of himself, went themselves to *Alb-Burton*, near twenty Miles farther, to the Lord *Wentworth's* Quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His Lordship was very jealous of diminution in his Command, which General *Goring* had devolv'd to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive Orders from none but the Prince Himself; whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for Relief from *Exeter*, their Lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that the Prince "Himself should advance in Person, as well to bring up as "great a Body of the *Cornish*, as was possible (which with-
"out

“out his Presence was not to be hoped for) as to dispose the
 “Command of the whole Forces in such manner, as might
 • “probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be
 “hoped for being to bring the Enemy to Fight a Battle; and
 “that they might be enabled to that purpose, by joyning with
 “the Foot that were in *Exeter*; which was a considerable
 “Body. For the conducting so great a design, upon which
 no less than three Crowns depended, the Lord *Wentworth*
 could not be thought of Interest, Experience, or Reputation
 enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should
 not suffer in his Honour, or the imaginary Trust devolv’d to
 him by General *Goring*, or rather indeed that no notable haz-
 ard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in Com-
 mands, at a time when the Soldier was to be led to Fight,
 that it was resolv’d, “that he should be rather Advised, than
 “Commanded; and that if he comported himself with that
 “Temper and Modesty, as was expected, all Resolutions
 “should be form’d in Council, and all Orders thereupon should
 “issue in His Name.

THE next day after *Christmas* day, the weather being very
 sharp, the Prince went from *Truro*, to *Bodmin*; and the next
 day to *Tavistock*; where the Lords of the Council attended;
 the Lord *Wentworth* continuing at *Alb-Barton*, and his Horse
 spread over that part of the Country which was at any di-
 stance from the Enemy. *Sr Richard Greenvil*, who attended
 likewise at *Tavistock*, had sent three Regiments of Foot to
Okington, under the Command of Major General *Moleworth*;
 which were secured by the Brigade of Horse under Major Ge-
 neral *Webb*, who was Quarter’d near those parts, and the *Corn-
 wall* Train’d-bands were to come up within a week; the
 Blockade before *Plymouth* was maintain’d by General *Digby*,
 with about twelve or thirteen hundred Foot, and six hundred
 Horse; but the whole Contribution assign’d for the support
 of those Forces, was taken by the Lord *Wentworth’s* Horse;
 so that the Prince was compell’d to supply those Men, out of
 the Magazines of Victual which he had provided in *Cornwall*
 for the Army when it should march; and to leave his own
 Guard of Horse upon the skirts of *Cornwall*; there being no
 Quarter to be had for them nearer his own Person.

ABOUT this time, *Sr Thomas Fairfax* Quarter’d at a House
 about two miles East of *Exeter*, *Sr Hardress Waller* with a Bri-
 gade of his Army at *Kirton*, and another part of the Army
 had possessed *Powdram* House, and the Church, *Halford* House,
 and some other Holds on the West side; so that no Provisions
 went in, and it hath been said before, how long the Army
 under *Goring* had subsisted upon the Provisions within, and
 kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at *Tavistock*,
 upon

upon the Prince's coming thither, was, "that as soon as the
 "*Cornish* Foot should be come up, his Highness should march
 "with those, his own Guards, and as many Foot as might
 "conveniently be taken from before *Plymouth*, by leaving
 "Horse in their place, to *Totness*; where a Magazine should
 "be made of Provisions for the whole Army, both by Money
 "(for which the County would yield great store of Provi-
 "sions) and by Victuals brought out of *Cornwal* by Sea; for
 "which likewise directions were given: "From that place it
 "was concluded, that the Prince might joyn with the Forces
 "in *Exeter*, except the Rebels should draw their whole Body
 "between them; and then that Garrison would be able both
 "to relieve itself, and to infest the Enemy in the Rear; and
 "the Prince might retire, or Fight, as he found it most con-
 "venient and advantageous to him. Resolutions being thus
 fixed, and the *Cornish* being not expected in full Numbers
 till the Week following, the Prince chose to go to *Totness*;
 where all things necessary might be agreed with the Lord
Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there; his Quar-
 ters being within six miles; and where directions might be
 given for making the Magazine, towards which Money had
 been return'd out of *Cornwal*.

THE next day after the Prince came thither, the Lord
Wentworth attended him, and was inform'd in Council, what
 had been thought reasonable at *Tavistock*; the which he ap-
 prov'd of; the Prince then call'd to see a List of the Quarters,
 that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole Army
 should be Quarter'd when they came together; to which end,
 the next day, the Lord *Wentworth* brought the Quarter Ma-
 ster General *Pinkney*, who indeed govern'd him. At the first
 Council, the Lord *Wentworth* told the Prince, "that he was
 "to declare one thing to him, at the entrance into business,
 "and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive
 "no Orders from any Person but his Highness; the Lord *Gö-
 ring* having repos'd that trust in him, and given him a
 "Commission and Instructions to that purpose; which he of-
 ten repeated afterwards in Council; and, in the Debate of
 Quartering, talk'd very imperiously, and very disrespectfully,
 and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to
 some of the Council, in the presence of the Prince. The time
 was not conceiv'd seasonable for the Prince to declare how
 the Army should be commanded, till he had brought it toge-
 ther, and till he had his own Guards about him; and so the
 Prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the Lord *Went-
 worth's* carriage, only told him "that he would take the Com-
 "mand of the Army upon Himself, and issue out Orders as
 "he should think fit; and having visited the Port and Garrison

of *Dartmouth*, and taken sufficient course for the providing the Magazines, and settled the differences about Quarters, he return'd to *Tavistock*; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole Body of Foot to *Totness*, according to former appointment.

THE day before the Prince begun his Journey to *Tavistock*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, dated upon the seventh of *November*, in these words:

Oxford, 7th of November 1645.

Charles,

*A Letter
from the
King to the
Prince.*

"I LEAVE others to tell you the News of these parts, which are not so ill, as, I believe, the Rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you think your self in a probable danger of falling into the Rebels hands, to Transport your self into *Denmark*; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within this Island, in case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake not the present condition of the West, you ought not to defer your Journey one hour; in this I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive, that your going beyond Sea is absolutely necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not restrain you only to *Denmark*, but permit you to choose any other Country, rather than to stay here; as for *Scotland* and *Ireland* I forbid you either, untill you shall have perfect assurance, that Peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of *Mountrose*, in the other, be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now: so God bless you.

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

THOUGH the intimations in this Letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being Positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the Prince could not be block'd up by Sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one County entire, and *Exeter* and *Barnstable* in the other well Garrison'd, besides the Blockade before *Plymouth*, and the reputation of an Army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former design of joining the *Cornish* to the Horse, and to endeavour the relief of *Exeter*; for which purpose, the Prince undertook the Journey before mention'd to *Tavistock*, the day after *Christmas* day; and, at his coming thither, receiv'd this other Letter from the King.

Oxford,

Oxford, the 7th of December 1645.

Charles,

"I WROT to you this day Month ; of which, few days ^{Another}
 "after, I sent you a Duplicate. The causes of my Commands ^{Letter from}
 "to You in that Letter, are now multiplied. I will name ^{his Majesty.}
 "but one, which I am sure is sufficient for what I shall now
 "add to my former : it is This ; I have resolv'd to propose a
 "Personal Treary to the Rebels at *London* ; in order to which
 "a Trumpet is by this time there, to demand a Pass for my
 "Messengers, who are to carry my Propositions ; which if
 "admitted, as I believe it will, then my real security will be,
 "your being in another Country, as also a chief Argument
 "(which speaks it self without an Orator) to make the Rebels
 "hearken, and yield to Reason : whereas therefore I left you
 "by my last to judge of the time, I absolutely command you
 "to seek for carefully, and take the first opportunity of Trans-
 "porting your self into *Denmark*, if conveniently you can ;
 "but rather than not go out of this Kingdom, immediately
 "after the receipt of this, I permit, and command you to re-
 "pair to any other Country, as *France, Holland, &c.* whereto
 "you may arrive with most convenient security as to your
 "passage ; for nothing else is to be fear'd : I need not recom-
 "mend to you the leaving the Country in the best posture you
 "may, it so speaks it self, as I shall always do to be,

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

HIS Highness, as he used to do, assoon as he had perused the Letter, which, as the rest, was written in the Lord *Cole-pepper's* Cipher, and by him Decipher'd, deliver'd it again to his Lordship, "to be secretly kept, and Communicated to the other three ; for it was by no means yet safe to trust it farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this Letter ; for, besides that it found them in the Article of the most probable design had been on foot since the late disasters, to preserve the West ; if they should have attempted to have given Obedience to that Command, the suddain, unexpected, and unreasonable leaving the Army, would visibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the People, and the Soldiers (who would have wanted neither Intelligence, nor Instigation from the Prince's own Servants ; of whom the Lords could not rely upon three Men) they being full of hope in the Enterprize they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they were to choose, to have prevented it ; in which, they might reasonably have expected assistance from the Garrison of *Pendennis* ; from which place his Highness was necessarily to remove Himself. So that if

Zz 2

the

the Prince should attempt to go, and succeed, the Army, upon that discouragement, must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a Ship in the Harbour in readiness, and had at that time another Frigate of Mr *Hafdunks*, yet by its having been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, they could not be provided for so long a Voyage as to *Denmark*, which, with so important a Charge, would require two Months Victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the very Argument which his Majesty was pleased to use for his so positive Command; which, to their understanding, seem'd to conclude rather, that his Highness's Transportation (at least without an immediate absolute necessity) was at that time most unreasonable: for if, in expectation of a Treaty, his Majesty should venture his Royal Person in *London*, and should be receiv'd there, and at the same time his Highness's Person should be Transported out of the Kingdom, by his Majesty's own Commands (which could not then have been conceal'd) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the Rebels would make great advantage of it, as an Argument against his Majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unpeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was dispos'd to that Overture, and whose Assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that Act; and they would lose all confidence in their future Counsels.

UPON the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the Relief of *Exeter* was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the Prince's Person was "to be present at it: and thereupon they sent an Express to the King, with a dispatch sign'd by the Four who were trusted, a Duplicate whereof was sent by another Express the next day, in which they presented a clear state to his Majesty of his Forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's Presence; of the condition of *Exeter*, and of the Strength, as they conceiv'd, of the Enemy; and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility of obeying his Majesty at that time. They farther inform'd his Majesty of "the great indisposition, that they perceiv'd in all the Servants towards his Highness's leaving the Kingdom; and "that the jealousy was to great of his going into *France*, that "they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his Safety, would rather with him in the hands of the Enemy, than in that Kingdom; and therefore, "when the time of Necessity should come (which they assured his Majesty they would with any hazard watch and

"observe

"observe) they must prefer the continuing Him still within
 "his Majesty's own Dominions, and so to waite him to *Silly*, or
 "*Jersey*, and from thence conclude what was to be done far-
 "ther. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him,
 "that in case he should be engaged in a Personal Treaty at
 "*London* (which they conceiv'd the Rebels would never ad-
 "mit, without such Acts first obtain'd from his Majesty, as
 "might invalidate His Power, and confirm Theirs) how in-
 "convenient it might be, without the Privy of those Coun-
 "sellors, whom he was then to trust, to Transport the Prince,
 "except in danger of Surprisal, before the issue of that Treaty
 "might be discern'd: Assuring his Majesty, "that nothing
 "should put his Highness's Person into the hands of the Par-
 "liament, but his Majesty's own Commands; which they
 "should not resist in his own Dominions, nor, they conceiv'd,
 "any body else, if he were out of them.

THE appearance at *Tewkesbury* answer'd the expectation; *The Lord*
 there being full two thousand four hundred of the Train'd: *Went-*
 bands, very chearful, and ready to march; at *Oxford* were *worth's*
 eight hundred old Soldiers, under Major General *Molesworth*; *He is beaten*
 the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be eight *at Ash-Bur-*
 hundred, with the Lord *Goring's* Guards which were in *Deer-*
mouth; and to be drawn thence, upon the advance to the
 Army: from *Barnstable*, the Governour had promised to
 send five hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the least, a
 thousand five hundred Men were promised: all which, with
 his Highness's Guards, might well be depended upon for six
 thousand Foot. The Horse was very little fewer than five
 thousand; whereof his Highness's Guards made near seven
 hundred; so that, if all these could have been brought to
 Fight, the day seem'd not desperate. The Foot were appoint-
 ed to have marched the morrow, when the News came,
 "that the Enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the Lord
 "*Wentworth's* Quarters in two several places, and shortly af-
 ter the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himself came in, in great
 disorder, not inform'd of the particulars of his loss, but con-
 ceiv'd it to be greater than in truth it was, though many Men,
 and more Horses, were taken in both places. The Prince
 was very desirous to pursue the former resolution; and to
 have advanced with the whole Body to *Tewkesbury*; but the Lord
Wentworth did not only alledge, "that probably the Enemy
 "was possessed by that time of *Tewkesbury*, but that he had in
 "truth no hope to rally his Horse together, in any Numbers,
 "till they might be allow'd three or four days rest. Whereas
 all that Rout had been occasion'd by small Parties of the En-
 emy, who, at day time, came into their Quarters, and found
 no Guards; but all the Horse in the Stables; and their whole

Body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those Troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the Horse, to draw off the Blockade from *Plymouth*, *Tewkesbury* was no longer thought a place for the Prince's Residence; his Highness by the Advice of a Council of War remov'd to *Launceston*; whither all the Foot were drawn, and the Horse appointed to keep the *Devon-shire* side of the River; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards *Buxton*.

THE King had staid at *Hereford*, as hath been said, in great perplexity, and irresolution; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to *Worcester*; till he was assured; "that the whole strength of the Parliament in the North was gather'd together under the Command of *Pointz*; and "that he was already come between *Hereford* and *Worcester*, "with a Body of above three thousand Horse and Dragons; "with which he was appointed always to attend the King's motion: so that it would be very hard for his Majesty to get to *Worcester*, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into *Scotland* to joyn with *Montrose*, who was yet understood to be prosperous. This being the only design, it was not thought reasonable "to prosecute that march by *Worcester*, and thereby "to run the hazard of an Engagement with *Pointz*; but rather "to take a more secure passage through North *Wales* to *Chester*; "and thence, through *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*, to find a "way into *Scotland*, unobstructed by any Enemy that could "oppose them. This Counsel pleased; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a day's journey of *Chester*; which he found in more danger than he suspected; for within three days before, the Enemy, out of their Neighbour Garrisons, had surpris'd both the Out-works; and Suburbs of *Chester*; and had made some attempt upon the City, to the great Terror, and Confirmation of those within; who had no apprehension of such a surpris. So that this unexpected coming of his Majesty, look'd like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place: and the Besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the King's Troops believ'd them to be in their power.

The King
marches to
Chester,
where his
Horse are
Rout'd by
Pointz.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* was sent with most of the Horse over *Holt-Bridge*, that he might be on the East side of the River *Dee*; and the King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerard*, and the rest of the Horse, march'd directly into *Chester*, with a resolution, "that, early the day following, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* should have fallen upon the back of the "Enemy,

"Enemy, when all the force of the Town should have Sallied out, and so inclosed them. But *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath two Miles from *Chester*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz* (who had march'd a much shorter way, after he was inform'd which way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Chester*, telling him, "that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have "some Foot sent to him, to assist him against the King's "Horse: and the next Morning he appear'd, and was Charg'd by *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the Foot from before *Chester* might come to him. The Besiegers begun to draw out of the Suburbs in such hast, that it was believ'd in *Chester*, they were upon their Flight; and so most of the Horse and Foot in the Town, had order to pursue them. But the others hast was to joyn with *Pointz*; which they quickly did; and then they Charg'd *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being over-power'd, was Routed, and put to Flight; and pursued by *Pointz* even to the Walls of *Chester*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the rest of the Horse, were drawn up, and Charg'd *Pointz*, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those Horse which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for Horse to Fight in, that at last the Enemies Musqueteers compell'd the King's Horse to turn, and to Rout one another, and to overbear their own Officers, who would have restrain'd them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the brave Earl of *Lichfield*; who was the third Brother of that Illustrious Family, that Sacrificed their Lives in this Quarrel. He was a very faultless young Man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable Nature, and of a Spirit and Courage invincible; whose loss all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many Persons of Quality taken Prisoners, amongst whom *Sr Philip Musgrave*, a Gentleman of a noble Extraction, and ample Fortune in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; who liv'd to engage himself again in the same Service, and with the same Affection, and, after very great Sufferings, to see the King Restored. This Defeat broke all the Body of Horse, which had attended the King from the Battle of *Naseby*, and which now fled over all the Country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest Rout could produce.

THE design of marching Northward, was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time *Mountrose* was Defeated by *David Leslie*; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolv'd to have done, the very next day after he came to *Chester*, he could never have been able to

The King
retires to
Denbigh
to rally his
Horse.

have retreated. He staid in *Chester* only one Night after the blow, but remain'd, by the same way by which he had come, to *Denbigh-Castle* in North *Wales*, being attended only with five hundred Horse; and there he staid three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his Troops as had stopped within any distance. So that, in a short time, he had in view four and twenty hundred Horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some propos'd "the Isle of *Anglesey*, as a place of Safety, and an Island Fruitful enough "to support his Forces; which would defend it self against "any Winter attempt, and from whence he might be easily "Transported into *Ireland* or *Scotland*. They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, propos'd "that his Majesty might Commodiously make his "Winter Quarters at *Worcester*, and by Quartering his Troops "upon the *Severn*, between *Bridgenorth* and *Worcester*, stand "there upon his Guard; and by the access of some other "Forces, might be able to Fight with *Pariz*; who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to streighten *Chester*, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his Troops over the River *Dee* into *Denbigh-shire*; so that he was now nearer the King, and made the march last propos'd, much the more difficult; but there was so little choice, that it was prosecuted, and with good Success; and there being another Bridge to pass the *Dee* some Miles further, and through as ill ways as any those Countries have, his Majesty went over without any opposition; and had, by this means, left *Pariz* a full day's Journey behind. Here Prince *Maurice* waited on his Majesty with eight hundred Horse, part whereof was of Prince *Rupert's* Regiment that came out of *Brissel*. And now being thus strengthen'd, they less apprehended the Enemy; yet continued their march without resting, till, by Forcing the *Severn*, they came to *Bridgenorth*, the place design'd. Now every body expected, that they should forthwith go to *Worcester*, and take up their Winter Quarters; but upon the News of the Surrender of *Berkley-Castle* in *Glocester-shire*, and of the Devizes in *Wilt-shire*, two strong Garrisons of the King's, it was urg'd, "that *Worcester* would not be a good place for "the King's Winter Residence, and *Newark* was propos'd as "a place of more security. This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private, and particular Interest.

Thence to
Bridge-
north.

THOUGH Prince *Rupert* had submitted to the King's pleasure, in resigning his Commission, yet he resolv'd not to make use of his Pass, and to quit the Kingdom, till he might first see his Majesty, and give an account of the Reasons which oblig'd him to deliver up *Brissel*, and was ready to begin

begin his Journey towards him, as soon as he could be inform'd where the King intended to rest. The Lord *Digby*, who had then the chief influence upon his Majesty's Councils, and was generally believ'd to be the sole cause of revoking the Prince's Commission, and of the Order sent to him to leave the Kingdom, without being heard what He could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon Him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that Cloud upon Him, which threaten'd his Ruin (for he had not only the indignation of Prince *Rupert*, and all his Party to contend with, but the extreme Malice of the Lord *Gerrard*; who used to hate heartily upon a sudden accident, without knowing why; over and above this, as Prince *Rupert* would have an easy Journey to *Worcester*, so Prince *Maurice* was Governour there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his Brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it; whereas if the King went to *Newark*, the Journey from *Oxford* thither would be much more difficult, and Prince *Maurice* would be without any Authority there) these Reasons were Motives enough to the Lord *Digby*, to be very solicitous to divert the King from *Worcester*, and to incline him to *Newark*; and his Credit was so great, that against the opinion of every other Man, the King resolv'd to take that course; so having stay'd only one day at *Bridgenorth*, and from thence sent *St. Thomas Glenham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, he made halt to *Lichfield*; and then pass'd with that speed to *Newark*, Thence to Newark that he was there as soon as the Governour had notice of his purpose. In this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own Affairs, was his Majesty compell'd to condescend to the particular, and private Passions of other Men.

WHEN the King came to *Newark*, he betook himself to the regulating the disorders of that Garrison; which, by their great Luxury and Excesses, in a time of so general Calamity, had given just scandal to the Commissioners, and to all the Country. The condition of the Garrison of Newark at this time. The Garrison consisted of about two thousand Horse and Foot; and to those there were about four and twenty Colonels and General Officers, who had all liberal Assignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; so that though that small County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigness in *England*, there was very little left to pay the Common Soldiers, or to provide for any other Expences. This made so great a noise, that the King found it absolutely necessary to reform it; and reduced some of the Officers entirely, and lessened the Pay of others; which added to the number of the Discontented; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several

several places, though no Author named "that *Monstrofe*, "after his Defeat, by an access of those Troops which were "then absent, had Fought again with *David Lesley*; and totally Defeated him; and that he was marched towards the "Borders with a strong Army. This News, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believ'd, and believ'd to that degree, that the King himself declared a Resolution, the third time, "to advance, and joyn with *Monstrofe*; and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was already upon his way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* had met him at *Banbury*) prevail'd so far, that the King resolv'd, without delay, or expecting any Confirmation of the Report, "to move Northward to meet the News, and, if it "fell not out to his Wish, he would return to *Newark*. In this Resolution, after a Weeks stay at *Newark*, he marched to *Tuxford*; and the next day to *Wellbeck*, having, in his way, met with the same general Reports of *Monstrofe's* Victories; which were interpreted as so many Confirmations; and therefore, though the King assembled his Council to consult at *Wellbeck*, he declared "that he would not have it Debated, "whether he should advance or retire; but concerning the "manner of his advancing; since he was resolv'd not to retire; which he was sure would be attended with more mischief than could accompany his advancing.

THIS Declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the Major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed "that "they should march the next day to *Rotherham*; and that the "Troops should be drawn to a Rendezvous, the next Morning, at such an Hour; and so the Officers were rising to give Orders out for the execution of what was Resolv'd; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door; who, being call'd in, was found to be the Trumpeter formerly sent from *Cardiff* to the *Scotish* Army, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, General thereof; who had taken him with him as far as *Berwick*, before he would suffer him to be discharg'd. The King asked him, "what he had heard of the Marquis of *Monstrofe*? He answer'd, "that the last News he had heard of him, was, "that he was about *Sterling*, retiring farther North; and that "*David Lesley* was in *Lothian*, on this side *Edinburgh*; and "that the *Scotish* Army lay between North *Albion* and *New-Castle*. This so unexpected Relation, dashed the former purpose; and the Lord *Digby* himself declared, "that it was "by no means fit for his Majesty to advance; but to retire "presently to *Newark*; which was, by every body, agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the next Morning to continue. When they were at the Rendezvous, the King declar'd,

declar'd, "that though it was not judged fit for Himself to
 "advance Northward, yet he thought it very necessary, that
 "Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* should, with the Horse under his
 "Command, march that way; and endeavour to joyn with
 "*Mountrose*. And, having said so, his Majesty look'd upon
 "Sr *Marmaduke*; who very chearfully submitted to his Majesty's
 "pleasure; and said, "he had only one Suit to make to his Ma-
 "jesty; which was that the Lord *Digby* might Command in
 "Chief, and He under him. All who were present, stood amaz'd
 at what was now said; of which, no word had pass'd in
 Council; but when the Lord *Digby* as frankly accepted of the
 Command, they concluded, that it had been concert'd before
 between the King and the other Two.

No Man contradicted any thing that had been propos'd;
 and so immediately, upon the place, a short Commission was
 prepar'd, and Sign'd by the King, to constitute the Lord *Digby*
 Lieutenant General of all the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd
 for the King on the other side of *Trent*; and with this Com-
 mission he immediately departed from the King, taking with
 him from the Rendezvous all the Northern Horse, with Sr
Marmaduke Langdale, and Sr *Richard Hutton*, High Sheriff of
York-shire, together with the Earls of *Carnarvon*, and *Nid-
 disdale*, and several other *Scotish* Gentlemen: He march'd in
 the head of fifteen hundred Horse; and so in a moment be-
 came a General, as well as a Secretary of State; and march'd
 presently to *Doncaster*.

BECAUSE this Expedition was in a short time at an end,
 it will not be amiss to finish the relation in this place; there
 being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The Lord *Digby*
 was inform'd at his being at *Doncaster*, "that there was, in a
 "Town two or three Miles distant, and little out of the way
 "of the next day's march, one thousand Foot newly rais'd for
 "the Parliament; which he resolv'd, the next Morning, to
 fall upon; and did it so well, that they all threw down their
 Armes, and dispers'd; whereupon he prosecuted his march to
 a Town call'd *Sherborne*, where he stay'd to refresh his Troops;
 and whilst he stay'd there, he had notice of the advance of
 some Troops of Horse towards him, under the Command of
 Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* presently Sounded to Horse, and hav-
 ing gotten some few Troops ready, march'd with them out
 of the Town; and finding *Copley* standing upon a convenient
 ground, he would not stay for his other Companies, but im-
 mediately Charg'd them with that Courage, that he routed
 most of their Bodies; which, after a short resistance, Fled,
 and were pursu'd by his Horse through *Sherborne*; where the
 other Troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the
 Flight of Horse, in great Consternation, concluded, that they
 were

The Lord
Digby
Routed at
Sherborne
in York-
shire.

were their own Fellows, who had been Routed by the Enemy; and so with equal confusion they mounted their Horses, and Fleed as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceiv'd to be most for their safety. By this means, a Troop that remain'd upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord Digby, and those Officers, and Gentlemen; who remain'd about him; who were compell'd to make their retreat to *Skipton*; which they did with the loss of *Sr Richard Hutton* (a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very Venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation) and two or three other Persons; and with the loss of the Lord Digby's Baggage; in which was his Cabinet of Papers; which, being published by the Parliament, administr'd afterwards to much occasion of discourse.

At *Skipton*, most of the scattered Troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, as far as *Dumfries* in *Scotland*; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where *Mountrose* was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the *Scottish* Army upon the Borders; in the highest despair, that Lord, *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, the two Earls, and most of the other Officers, Embarked themselves for the Isle of *Man*; and, shortly after, for *Ireland*; where we shall leave them, all the Troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred Horse which marched Northward, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the Generalship of the Lord Digby, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own Troops, because the Enemy fled (as the greatest misfortunes which befall that Noble Person, throughout the whole course of his Life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attain'd to what he could wish) he had without doubt been Master of *York*; and of the whole North; the Parliament having no other Forces in all those parts, their Garrisons excepted, than those Foot which he first defeated, and those Horse which he had so near broken. The temper, and composition of his Mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleas'd and delighted that he had advanc'd so far, which he imputed to his own Virtue and Conduct, than broken or dejected that his Success was not answerable, which he still charg'd upon second Causes, for which he thought himself not accountable.

WHEN the Lord Digby and *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* left the King, his Majesty march'd back to *Newark* with eight hundred Horse of his own Guards, and the Troops belonging to the Lord *Gerrard*; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befel the Northern Adventurers; upon which He concluded

cluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time *Pointz* was come with all his Troops to *Nottingham*, and *Rossiter* with all the Force of *Lincolnshire* to *Grantham*; and all the power his Majesty had, was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the Darkness of the Nights, and good Guides, to steal from thence to *Worcester*, or *Oxford*; in either of which he could only expect a little more time, and leisure to consider what was next to be done.

BUT before his Majesty can leave *Newark*, he must undergo a new kind of Mortification from his Friends, much sharper An account of the Discontents of some of his Chief Commanders against the King at Newark. than any he had undergone from his Enemies; which, without doubt, he suffered with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince *Rupert* was now come to *Belvoir-Castle*, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and about one hundred and twenty Officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a charge from *Rossiter*, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the King heard of his being so near, he writ a Letter to him, by which "he required him to stay at *Belvoir* till further Order; and reprehended him for not having given obedience to his former Commands. Notwithstanding this Command, he came the next day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and *Sr Richard Willis*, Governour of the Town, with one hundred Horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this Train, he came to the Court; and found the King in the presence; and, without Ceremony, told his Majesty, "that he was come to render an account of the loss of *Brissol*, and to clear himself from those imputations which had been cast upon him. The King said very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to Supper; and, during that time, asked some Questions of Prince *Maurice*, without saying any thing to the other. After he had Supped, he retir'd to his Chamber, without admitting any farther discourse; and the Prince return'd to the Governour's House, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many protestations of "his innocence, and how impossible it was "long to defend the Fort, after the Line was entred. His Majesty did not suspect his Nephew to have any Malicious design against his Service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that Action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caused a short Declaration to be

be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was absolv'd and clear'd from any Disloyalty, or Treason in the rendering of *Bristol*, but not of Indiscretion. So that matter was settled; upon which the King expected the Prince should have departed, as himself resolv'd to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

THE change of the posture of the Enemy, and *Peinart's* coming to the North side of *Trent*, made his Majesty resolve to begin his march on the Sunday Night, being the twentieth of *October*; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the Governour and the Commissioners (who were all the principal Gentlemen of the Country, and Who had with Courage and Fidelity adher'd to the King from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserv'd that place) and had been so much increased by the mutual Contentts which had been between them in the presence of the King, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the Garrison, but by the removal of the Governour; which was so evident to the King, that he resolv'd on that expedient; and, on the Sunday Morning, sent for *St Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber; and after many gracious expressions of "the Satisfaction he had receiv'd in his Service, and of "the great abilities he had to serve him, he told him, "his "own design to be gone that Night; and that he resolv'd to "take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Horse "Guards, in the place of the Earl of *Lichfield*, who had been "lately kill'd before *Chester* (which was a Command fit for any Subject) "and that he would leave the Lord *Bellasis* "Governour of *Newark*, who being Allied to most of the "Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and having a good "Estate there, would be more acceptable to them. His Majesty condescended so far, as to tell him, "that he did not "hereby give a judgement on the Commissioners side, who he "declared had been to blame in many particulars; and that "he himself could not have an ampler vindication, than by "the honour and trust he now conferred upon him; but he "found it would be much easier to remove Him, than to "reform the Commissioners; who, being many, could not be "any other way united in his Service.

St Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excus'd the not taking the other command, "as a place of too great "Honour, and that his Fortune could not maintain him in "that employment: he said, that his Enemies would triumph "at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out, "and disgraced. The King replied, "that he would take "care, and provide for his Support; and that a man could
"not

“not be looked upon as disgraced, who was placed so near his Person; which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought a little of it. So his Majesty went out of his Chamber, and presently to the Church. When he return'd from thence, he sat down to dinner; the Lords, and other of his Servants, retiring likewise to their Lodgings. Before the King had din'd, *Sr Richard Willis*, with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about twenty Officers of the Garrison, entred into the presence Chamber: *Willis* address'd himself to the King, and told him, “that what his Majesty had said to him in private, was now the publick Talk of the Town, and very much to his Dishonour: Prince *Rupert* said, “that *Sr Richard Willis* was to be remov'd from his Government, for no Fault that he had committed, but for being His Friend: the Lord *Gerrard* added, “that it was the Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traytor, and he would prove him to be so. The King was so surpris'd with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the Table, and would have gone into his Bed-Chamber; calling *Sr Richard Willis* to follow him; who answer'd aloud, “that he had receiv'd a Publick injury, and therefore that he expected a Publick satisfaction. This, with what had pass'd before, so provoked his Majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possess'd with, he commanded them “to depart from his Presence, and to come no more into it; and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that They appear'd no less confounded; and departed the Room, amaz'd of what they had done; yet as-soon as they came to the Governour's House, they Sounded to Horse, intending to be presently gone.

THE noise of this unheard of insolence, quickly brought the Lords who were absent, and all the Gentlemen in the Town, to the King, with expressions full of Duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured. There is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the Offenders. But his Majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the Lord *Belasis* to be Governour; who immediately betook himself to his Charge, and placed the Guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the Afternoon, a Petition and Remonstrance was brought to the King, sign'd by the two Princes, and about four and twenty Officers; in which they desired, “that *Sr Richard Willis* might receive a Trial by a Court of War; and if they found him faulty, then to be “dismiss'd from his Charge; and that, if this might not be “granted, they desired Passes for themselves, and as many
 “Horse

"Horse as desired to go with them. Withal, they said, "they hoped, that his Majesty would not look upon this Action of theirs as a Mutiny. To the last, the King said, "he would not now Christen it; but it look'd very like one: As for the Court of War, he would not make that a judge of His Actions; but for the Passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them. The next Morning the Passes were sent to them; and in the Afternoon they left the Town; being in all about two hundred Horse; and went to *Wyverton*, a small Garrison depending upon *Newark*; where they stay'd some days; and from thence went to *Belvoir* Castle; from whence they sent one of their Number to the Parliament, "to desire leave, and Passes, to go beyond the Seas.

BESIDES the exceeding trouble and vexation that this Action of his Nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the King, it had well nigh broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time; and *Pointz* and *Rossiter* drew every day nearer, believing they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now *Besieged Stamford-House*, a Garrison belonging to *Newark*, and kept strong Guards between them and *Belvoir*, and stronger towards *Lichfield*; which was the way they most suspected his Majesty would incline to take; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that Labyrinth; but the King gave not himself over. He had fixed now his Resolution for *Oxford*, and sent a trusty Messenger thither with directions, that the Horse of that Garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between *Banbury* and *Deventry*. Then, upon *Monday*, the third of *November*, early in the Morning, he sent a Gentleman to *Belvoir* Castle, to be inform'd of the true State of the Rebels Quarters, and to advertise *Sr Gervais Lucas*, the Governour of that Garrison, of his Majesty's design to march thither that Night, with order that his Troops and Guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, "that he should not acquaint the Princes, or any of their Company, with it. That Gentleman being return'd with very particular information, the resolution was taken "to march that very night, but not publish'd till an hour after the shutting the Ports. Then order was given, "that all should be ready in the Market place, at ten of the Clock; and by that time the Horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the Guards and of other loose Regiments; they were all there put in order; and every Man was placed in some Troop; which

which done, about eleven of the Clock, they began to march; the King himself in the head of his own Troop, march'd in the middle of the whole Body. By three of the Clock in the Morning, they were at *Belvoir*; without the least interruption or alarm given. There *St Gervas Lucas*, and his Troop, with good Guides were ready; and attended his Majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those Quarters he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their Garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but march'd all that day; passing near *Barleigh* upon the Hill, a Garrison of the Enemy, from whence some Horse waited upon the Rear, and took and kill'd some Men, who either negligently staid behind, or whose Horses were tired. Towards the Evening the King was so very weary, that he was even compell'd to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a Village within eight miles of *Northampton*. At ten of the Clock that Night, they began to march again; and were, before Day, the next Morning past *Deventry*; and before Noon, came to *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horse were ready, and waited upon his Majesty, and conducted him safe to *Oxford* that Day; so he finish'd the most tedious and grievous march that ever King was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the Spirits of any Man who had not been truly magnanimous. At *Oxford*, the King found himself at rest, and ease to revolve, and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with Persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady Judgements; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that Letter of the seventh of *November*; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of *December*; both which are mention'd before, and set down at large.

THE Prince of *Wales* did not enjoy so much rest and ease in His Quarters; for, upon the hurry of the Retreat of the Horse, which is mention'd before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* broke loose, and run to their Houses, pretending "they fear'd that the Horse would go into that County, and plunder them; for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the Retreat, many Regiments had Orders from the Lord *Wentworth* to Quarter in *Cornwal*; of which his Highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his Orders positive, "that "no one Regiment of Horse should be there, but that they "should be all Quarter'd on the *Devon* side. Upon that, they were dispersed about the County, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no Enemy had been within two days march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged

together in one Action against the Enemy, all the Horse and Foot of the Lord *Goring*; the Command whereof, the Lord *Wentworth* challenged to himself by deputation; the Horse and Foot of *Sr Richard Greenville*; and the Horse and Foot of General *Digby*, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the Guards; which no body pretended to Command but the Lord *Capel*. When the Prince removed from *Tavistock*, the raising the Blockade from *Plymouth* was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a Council of War, "that it would be fit for his Highness to remove to *Launceston*; whither the Train'd bands, and "the rest of the Foot should likewise come, and the Horse "march on the *Devon-shire* side, and Quarter most conveniently in that County. The care of the Retreat, and bringing the Provisions from *Tavistock*, was committed to *Sr Richard Greenville*; which was perform'd by him so negligently, that besides the disorders he suffer'd in *Tavistock*, by the Soldiers, a great part of the Magazine of Victuals, and three or four hundred pair of Shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the Prince came to *Launceston*, *Sr Richard Greenville* writ a Letter to him, wherein he represented "the impossibility of keeping that Army together, or fighting with it in "the condition it was then in; told him, "that he had, the "night before, sent directions to Major General *Harris* (who Commanded the Foot that came from about *Plymouth*) "to "guard such a Bridge; but that he return'd him word, that "he would receive Orders from none but General *Digby*; "that General *Digby* said, that he would receive Orders from "none but his Highness; that a Party of the Lord *Wentworth's* "Horse had the same Night come into his Quarters, where "his Troop of Guards, and his Firelocks were; that neither "submitting to the Command of the other, they had fallen "foul, and two or three Men had been kill'd; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary, his Highness should "constitute one Superior Officer, from whom all those independent Officers might receive Orders; without which, it "would not be possible for that Army to be kept together, "or do Service; that for His own part, he knew his Severity and Discipline had render'd him so odious to the Lord *Goring's* Horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the "Enemy, than receive Orders from Him; therefore he desired his Highness to constitute the Earl of *Brentford*, or "the Lord *Hopton*, to Command in Chief, and then he hoped, "some good might be done against the Enemy.

THE mischief was more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some Action must be with the Enemy within
few

few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both Officer and Soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their Armes; and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the Command of a dissolute, undisciplin'd, wicked, beaten Army, upon which he must engage his Honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform, or instruct them. That which made the resolution necessary, was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in Command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended No-alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the World, for not advising the Prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remain'd to be done.

THEREUPON, on the fifteenth of *January*, his Highness made an Order, "that the Lord *Hopton* should take the Charge of the whole Army upon him; and that the Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the Horse, and *Sr Richard Greenvil* the Foot. It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the Lord *Hopton* (to the which nothing but the most abstracted Duty and Obedience could have Submitted) to take charge of those Horse whom only their Friends feared, and their Enemies laugh'd at; being only terrible in Plunder, and resolute in Running away. Of all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwall*, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some insurrections from *Greenvil* and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the Foot (besides those who belonged to the Lord *Goring*, which were two Regiments of about four hundred) were the three Regiments of about six hundred; which belong'd to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, and the Officers of them entirely His Creatures; and those belonging to General *Digby*, which were not above five hundred; To these were added (and were indeed the only Men, but a small Troop of his own of Horse and some Foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could Rely; except some particular Gentlemen, who could only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty Foot, and eight hundred Horse of the Guards; who were Commanded by the Lord *Capel*, and entirely to receive Orders from his Lordship.

THE Lord *Hopton* very generously told the Prince, "that it was a custom now, when Men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoyn'd, to say, that it was against their Honour; that their Honour would not suffer them to do this or that; for His part, he could not obey his High-

The Lord Hopton made General of the remains of the western Army. Lord Wentworth to Command the Horse, Greenvil the Foot.

"ness at this time, without resolving to lose his Honour, "which he knew he must, but since his Highness thought it "necessary to Command him, he was ready to obey him with "the loss of his Honour. Since the making of this Order was concluded an Act of absolute necessity, and the Lord *Hopton* had so worthily Submitted to it, it was positively resolv'd by his Highness, "that it should be dutifully Submitted to by all "other Men; or that the Refusers should be exemplarily punished. There was not the least suspicion that *Sr Richard Greenvil* would not willingly have Submitted to it, but it was believ'd that the Lord *Wentworth*, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refus'd; which if he had done, it was resolv'd by the Prince presently to have committed him, and to have desired the Lord *Capel* to have taken the charge of the Horse.

His Highness sent *Sr Richard Greenvil* a Letter of thanks, "for the advice which he had given; and which, he said, he "had followed, as by the inclosed Order he might perceive; "by which his Highness had committed the care and charge "of the whole Army to the Lord *Hopton*, appointing that the "Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the Horse, and *Sr Richard Greenvil* all the Foot, and both to receive Orders "from the Lord *Hopton*: no Man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refused that Charge, by which he was to have a greater Command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he receiv'd that Letter and Order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his Highness "to desire to be "excused, in respect of his indisposition of health; expressing, that he could do him better service in getting up the "Soldiers who stragled in the Country, and in suppressing "Malignants; and at the same time, writ to the Lord *Cokepepper*, "that he could not consent to be commanded by the "Lord *Hopton*. It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and Command *Cornwall*; with which, considering the premises, the Prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill consequence that would attend the publick Service, "if he should Then, and in such a manner, quit the Charge "his Highness had committed to him; that more should not "be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and "that if he took the Command upon him, he should take "what Adjutants he pleased to assist him. But notwithstanding all that the Prince could say to him, or such of his Friends who thought they had Interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refused to take the Charge, or to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*. WHAT

WHAT should the Prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner concerned, at a time when that Army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if *Greenvil* were at liberty, and the Army once marched out of *Cornwall*, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented Party, and at least endeavour'd to have hindred their retreat back into *Cornwall*, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would under-hand have kept many from marching with the Army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own Country. So that, Mr R Greenvil refusing the Command, the Prince commises him to Prison. upon full consideration, his Highness thought fit to commit him to Prison to the Governour of *Lanuceston*; and within two or three days after, sent him to the Mount; where he remain'd till the Enemy was possess'd of the County; when his Highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to Transport himself beyond the Sea.

THE Lord *Westworth*, though he seem'd much surpris'd with the Order when he heard it read at the Board, and desired "time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his Officers; yet, when the Prince told him, "that he would not refer his Acts to be scanned by the Officers; but that he should give his positive Answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; and then his Highness knew what he had to do; he only desired "to consider till the Afternoon; when he submitted; and went that Night out of Town to his Quarters; of which most Men were not glad, but rather wish'd (since they knew he would never obey chearfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the Intelligence was certain of the loss of *Dartmouth*, which added neither Courage, nor Numbers to our Men; and the importunity was such from *Buxter* for present relief, that there seem'd even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the Lord *Hopton* resolv'd to march by the way of *Chimley*; that so, being between the Enemy and *Barnestable*, he might borrow as many Men out of the Garrison, as could be spared; and by strong Parties at least to attempt upon their Quarters. But it was likewise resolv'd, "that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and the general indisposition, to say no worse, both in Officer and Soldier, it would not be fit for his Highness to venture his own Person with the Army; but that he should retire to *Truro*, and reside there; against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weigh'd down by greater.

WHOEVER had observ'd the temper of the Gentry of
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that County towards *Sr Richard Greenvil*, or the Clamour of the Common People against his Oppression, and Tyranny, would not have believ'd, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any Unpopular Act; there being scarce a day, in which some Petition was not presented against him. As the Prince passed through *Bodmin*, he receiv'd Petitions from the Wives of many substantial, and honest Men; amongst the rest, of the Mayor of *Lifitbiel*; who was very eminently well affected and useful to the King's Service; all whom *Greenvil* had committed to the Common Goal, for presuming to Fish in that River, the Royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by Virtue of the Sequestration; granted him by the King, of the Lord *Roberts's* Estate at *Lambetherick*; whereas they who were committed, pretended a Title, and had always used the liberty of Fishing in those Waters, as Tenants to the Prince of his Highness's Mannor of *Lifitbiel*; there having been long Suits between the Lord *Roberts* and the Tenants of that Mannor, for that Royalty. And when his Highness came to *Tewisbeck*, he was again Petition'd by many Women for the liberty of their Husbands, whom *Sr Richard* had committed to Prison, for refusing to grind at his Mill, "which, he said, they were bound by the Custom to do. So by his Martial Power he had Asserted whatever Civil Interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any Man out of Prison, till he absolutely submitted to his Pleasure.

THERE were in the Goal at *Launceston*, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty Persons, Constables and other Men, whom he had committed, and imposed Fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of Delinquency (of which he was in no case a proper Judge) for the payment whereof they were detain'd in Prison. Amongst the rest, was the Mayor of *St Ives*, one *Hammond*, who had then the reputation of an honest Man; and was certified to be such by Colonel *Robinson* the Governor, and by all the Neighbouring Gentlemen. After the late Insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his Bond to *Sr Richard Greenvil*, of five hundred pound, to produce a young Man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that Mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the Man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor sent the Fellow to *Sr Richard Greenvil*; That would not satisfy; but he sent his Marshal for the Mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his Bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the Goal at *Launceston*. The Son of the Mayor presented a Petition to the Prince,

Prince, at *Truro*, for his Father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good Affection of the Man. The Petition was refer'd to *St Richard Greenvil*, with direction, "that if the case were "in truth such, he should discharge him. As soon as the Son brought this Petition to him, he put it in his Pocket; told him, "the Prince understood not the business; and committed the Son to Goal, and caused Irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second Petition to the Prince, at *Launceston*, after the time that *St Richard* himself was committed, he directed the Lord *Hopton*, "upon examination "of the truth of it, to discharge the Man; of which, when *St Richard* heard, he sent to the Goaler "to forbid him, at "his peril, to discharge *Hammond*; threatening him "to "make him pay the Money; and, after that, caused an Action to be enter'd in the Town Court at *Launceston* upon the forfeiture of the Bond. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince, than even those who had complain'd of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many Officers of those Forces which he had Commanded, in a Tumultuous manner, Petition'd for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the People, and the ill accidents that follow'd, imputed to that proceeding against *St Richard Greenvil*; in which none were more forward, than some of the Prince's own Household Servants; who were so tender of Him, that they forgot their duty to their Master.

It was Friday the sixth of February, before the Lord *Hopton* could move from *Launceston*, for want of Carriages for their Ammunition, and Provision of Victual. Neither had he then Carriages for above half their little Store, but rely'd upon the Commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to *Torrington*; where he resolv'd to fasten, till his Provisions could be brought up; and he might receive certain Intelligence of the Motion, and Condition of the Enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had Barricadoed, and made some little Fastnesses about the Town, when *St Thomas Fairfax* advanced to *Chimley*, within eight Miles of *Torrington*, with six thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and five hundred Dragoons; of which so near advance of the Enemy (notwithstanding all the strict Orders for keeping of Guards; whercof one Guard was, or was appointed to be, within two Miles of *Chimley*) he had not known but by a Lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them. So negligent, and unfaithful, were both Officers and Soldiers in their duty.

The Lord
Hopton's
Force: routed
at Torrington by Sir
Thomas
Fairfax.

THE Lord *Hopton* having this Intelligence of the Strength, and Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had his Election of two things, either to retire into *Cornwal*, or to abide them where he was; the first, besides the disheartning of his Men, seem'd rather a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great Body of Horse into *Cornwal*, the few that remain'd of the Trainbands, would immediately dissolve, and run to their Houses; and the remainder of Horse and Foot, in a short time, be destroy'd without an Enemy. Therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Number in Foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the Enemy should attempt him in so fast a Quarter, he might defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. So he placed his Guards, and appointed all Men to their Posts, having drawn as many Horse (such as on the suddain he could get) into the Town, as he thought necessary; the rest being ordered to stand on a Common, at the East end of the Town. But the Enemy forced the Barricadoe in one place by the baseness of the Foot; with which the Horse in the Town more basely receiv'd such a Fright, that they could neither be made to Charge, nor Stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the Foot upon the Line, and at their other Posts, followed; leaving their General (who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horse kill'd under him) with two or three Gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the Officers publicly reporting, lest the Soldiers should not make hast enough in running away, "that he saw their General run through the Body with a Pike. The Lord *Hopton* recovering a fresh Horse, was compell'd (being thus deserted by his Men) to retire; which he did, to the Borders of *Cornwal*; and stay'd at *Stratton* two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his Foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelyhood of making any stand against the Enemy with such Foot, and that it was visible that Body of Horse could not long subsist in *Cornwal*, whether the Horse might not break through to *Oxford*; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three Days and Nights in the Field, and the Enemies strength being drawn up within two Miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides (that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an Express (Sr *D. Wyat*) out of *France*, "of four or five thousand Foot to come from thence within three Weeks, or a Month at farthest; those Letters, and the Messenger, averring, "that most of the Men were ready, when "He came away.

THE Enemy advanced to *Stratton*, and so to *Launceston*; where

where Mr *Edgcomb*, who had always pretended to be of the King's Party, with his Regiment of Train'd-bands, joyn'd with them; and the Lord *Hopton* retir'd to *Bodmin*; the Horse, Officers and Soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict Orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the Lord *Hopton* protested, "that, from the time he undertook the Charge, to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a Party or Guard appear'd with half the Number appointed, or within two hours of the time; and *Goring's* Brigade, having the Guard upon a Down near *Bodmin*, drew off without Orders, and without sending out a Scout; insomuch as the whole gross of the Rebels, were at day time marched within three Miles, before the Foot in *Bodmin* had any notice. So that the Lord *Hopton* was instantly forced to draw off his Foot and Carriages Westward; and kept the Field that cold Night, being the first of *March*; but could not, by all his Orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable Body of Horse to him by the end of the next day; they having Quartered themselves at pleasure over the Country, many above twenty Miles from *Bodmin*, and many running to the Enemy; and others purposely staying in their Quarters, till the Enemy came to dispossess them.

WHEN by the disorders and distractions of the Army, which are before set down, his Highness was perswaded to make his own Residence in *Cornwall*, he came to *Truro* on the 12th day of *February*; where he receiv'd a Letter from the King, directed to those four of the Council who had Signed that to his Majesty at *Tewisstock*. This Letter was dated at *Oxford* the fifth of *February*, and contain'd these words;

"YOURS from *Tewisstock* hath fully satisfied me, why my Commands concerning Prince *Charles* his going beyond Sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident necessity; also approving very much of the Steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my Commands to you for the Prince's going over, whensoever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling into the Rebels hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he should be at the head of the Army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now impart to you of my resolution, &c. And so proceeded in the Communication of his own design of taking the Field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my Lord *Astley*, and the ill success in the West.

THE Prince having staid some days at *Truro*, went to *The Prince Pendennis*; intending only to recreate himself for two or three goes to Pendennis.

three days; and to quicken the Works, which were well advanced; his Highness having issued all the Money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very Morning that he meant to return to *Truro*, his Army being then retired, and *Fairfax* at the edge of *Cornwall*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* sent Advertisements, "that they had severally receiv'd Intelligence of a design to seize the Person of the Prince; and that many Persons of Quality of the Country were privy to it. Hereupon the Prince thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so return'd no more to *Truro*. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the Prince's Person, they had reason to believe that some of his own Servants were not strangers to it. The Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* being at the Army; only the Prince, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's Pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have Reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of *Berkshire* continuing very jealous of the design of going into *France*, whatever they said to the contrary: The Governour of the Castle was Old and Fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his Son, though a gallant Gentleman, and worthy of any Trust, had little Credit with his Father.

THERE was no Letter from the King (though they had long before desired such a one, and propos'd the Form) fit to be publicly shew'd, in which there were not some Clauses which would have been applied to his Majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at *London*, which was then confidently averr'd by some, who swore "they met him at *Uxbridge*. Therefore these two Counsellors concluded, "that the Prince's going away must seem to be the effect of Counsel upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his Person, without any mention of the King's Command. But how to procure this Resolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the Lords minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected: In the end, having advised *Baldwin Wake*, to cause the Frigate belonging to *Halsburgh*, and the other Ships, to be ready upon an hours warning; they propos'd in Council, when the Lords *Berkshire*, and *Brenford* were present, "to send Mr *Fanshawe* to the Army, to receive the opinion and advice of the Lords that were there, what was best to be done with reference to the Person of the Prince, "and whether it were fit to hazard him in *Pendennis*; which was accordingly done. Their Lordships, according to the former agreement between them, return'd their advice, "that

“ it was not fit so adventure his Highness in that Castle
 “ (which would not only not preserve his Person, but prob-
 “ ably, by his stay there, might be lost; but by his absence
 “ might defend it self) and that he should remove to *Jersey*
 “ or *Silly*. This, upon Mr *Fanshawe*'s report, was unanim-
 mously consented to by the whole Council.

BUT because *Jersey* was so near to *France*, and so might
 give the greater umbrage, and that *Silly* was a part of *Cornwall*,
 and was by them all conceiv'd a place of unquestionable
 strength, the publick Resolution was for *Silly*, it being in their
 power, when they were at Sea, to go for *Jersey*, if the Wind
 was fair for one, and cross to the other. So the Resolution
 being imparted to no more that Night, than was of absolute
 necessity (for we apprehended clamour from the Army, from
 the Country, and from that Garrison in whose Power the
 Prince was) the next Morning, being *Monday*, the second
 of *March*, after the News was come that the Army was re-
 tiring from *Bodmin*, and the Enemy marching furiously after,
 and thereby Men were sufficiently awaken'd with the appre-
 hension of the Prince's Safety; the Governour and his Son
 were call'd into the Council, and made acquainted with the
 Prince's Resolution, “ that Night to Embark himself for *Silly*,
 “ being a part of *Cornwall*; from whence, by such aids and
 “ relief, as he hoped he should procure from *France* and For-
 “ reign parts, he should be best able to relieve them. And
 accordingly, that Night, about ten of the Clock, he put
 himself on Board; and on *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, ar-
 riv'd safe in *Silly*; from whence, within two days, the Lord *Colepepper*
 was sent into *France*, to acquaint the Queen “ with *Thomas by*
 “ his Highness's being at *Silly*; with the Wants and Incom- *Son to Silly.*
 “ modities of that place; and to desire supply of Men and
 “ Monies for the Defence thereof, and the Support of his
 “ own Person; it being agreed in Council, before the Lord
Colepepper's going from *Silly*, “ that if, upon advancement of
 “ the Parliament Fleet, or any other apparent danger, his
 “ Highness should have cause to suspect the security of his
 “ Person there (the strength of the place in no degree an-
 swering expectation, or the fame of it) “ he would imme-
 “ diately Embark himself in the same Frigate (which attended
 there), “ and go to *Jersey*.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* found that he could put no re-
 straint to the Licence of the Soldiers, he called a Council of
 War to consider what was to be done. The principal Of-
 ficers of Horse were so far from considering any Means to
 put their Men in order, and heart to face the Enemy, that
 they declared in plain *English*, “ that their Men would ne-
 “ ver be brought to Fight; and therefore propos'd positively,
 “ to

“to send for a Treaty: From which not one Officer *disfented*, except only Major General *Webb*, who always professed against it. The Lord *Hopton* told them, “it was a thing he could “not consent to without exprefs leave from the Prince (who “was then at *Pendennis-Castle*) to whom he would immediately dispatch away an Exprefs; hoping, that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the Officers to a better Resolution; or that, by the advance of the Enemy, they would be compell’d to Fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own Men; for many, both Officers and Soldiers, went every day in to them) a Trumpet arriv’d from *St Thomas Fairfax* with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, and making some Propositions to the Officers and Soldiers. His Lordship Communicated not this Letter to above one or two, of principal Trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it publick. Hereupon, all the principal Officers assemble together (except the Major General, *Webb*) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the Letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord *Hopton*, “that “if he would not consent to it, they were resolv’d to Treat “themselves. And from this time they neither kept Guards, nor perform’d any Duty; Their Horse every day mingling with those of the Enemy, without any Act of Hostility. In this streight, the Lord *Hopton* having sent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis*, and the Mount, and declared, “that “he would neither Treat for himself nor the Garrisons, he gave the Horse leave to Treat; and thereupon those Articles were concluded, by which that Body of Horse was dissolv’d; and Himself and the Lord *Capel*, with the first Wind, went from the Mount to *Silly*, to attend his Highness; who, as is said, was gone thither from *Pendennis-Castle*, after the Enemies whole Army was enter’d *Cornwall*.

The Lord
Hopton's
Army dis-
solv'd.

Touching
Duke Ha-
milton Pri-
soner at
Pendennis.

HAVING left the Prince in *Silly*, so near the end of that unprosperous year 1645 (for it was upon the three and twentieth of *March*) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave *Cornwall*, it will be necessary to inform the Reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in a former Book, what proceedings had been at *Oxford* against Duke *Hamilton*; and how he had been first sent Prisoner to *Brissel*, and from thence to *Pendennis-Castle* in *Cornwall*. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the King, and General in the Head of a great Army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in *Cornwall* without so much as naming him, to leave Men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtain’d his Liberty; which he employ’d afterwards

wards with so much Zeal for the King's Service to the loss of his Life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many Honest Men, from all those Jealousies and Aspersions, he had long suffer'd under; but the proceeding that had been against him at *Oxford*, was looked upon by many as void of that Justice and Policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long Imprisonment, how much he might have done more Successfully, if he had never been restrain'd. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he Suffer'd, ought, in great measure, to free his Memory from any Reproaches for the Errors, or Weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the Motives, and Inducements of his Commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possessed of his Liberty, and why he obtain'd it no sooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he must be, in a short time, at Liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

WHEN the Prince first visited *Cornwall*, to settle his own Revenue of that Dutchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's Service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at *Truro*, to settle his duty upon the Timn, by Virtue of his ancient Privilege of Preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of *July*, the Governour of *Pendennis*-Castle invited him to dine there; which his Highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full View of the Situation and Strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compell'd to resort thither. Every Man knew well that Duke *Hamilton* was then a Prisoner there, and therefore it was to be consider'd, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolv'd without dispute, "that the Prince was not to admit such a Person into his Presence, who stood so much in his Father's displeasure, "and was committed to Prison by him; and that none of the Council, or of his Highness's Servants, should visit, or enter into any kind of correspondence with him. Thereupon the Governour was advis'd, in regard the Accommodations in the Castle were very narrow, "that, during the time the Prince was in the Castle, the Duke should be removed out of his Chamber into one of the Soldier's Houses; which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting "that he might not be admitted to see the Prince; and had a desire to have conferr'd with the Lord
Cole-

Colaspepper, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. He afterwards renew'd the same desire to them both, by his Servant Mr *Hamilton*. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the Ports of *Padstow*, the Mount, and *Pendennis*, which was about the middle of *August* (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the Prince's Transportation, when it should be necessary) the Prince referr'd it to him "to see the Duke, if he found it convenient. When he came to *Pendennis*, and was to stay there necessarily some days, he was inform'd, "that the Duke came always abroad to Meals, and "that at that time all Men spoke freely with him: So that, either he was to be made a close Prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at Supper and Dinner. The Governour then asked him, "whether the Duke should come a-broad. The Chancellor had neither Authority nor Reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, "he knew "his own course, which he presumed he would observe who- "ever came; and that if the Duke pleased, he would wait "upon him in his Chamber, to kiss his hands before Supper; the which he did.

WHEN the Duke, after some Civilities to him whom he had long known, and some Reproaches to the Governour, who was present, "of his very strict usage and carriage towards "him; which, he said he believ'd he could not justify (whereas the Chancellor well knew, that the Governour was absolutely govern'd by him) spoke to him of his own condition, and of "his Misfortune to fall into his Majesty's displeasure, without having giving him any Offence. He told him, "that he had very much desired to speak with him, "that he might make a Proposition to him, which he thought "for the King's Service; and he desired, if it seem'd so to "Him, that he would find means to recommend it to his "Majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it. Then he told him, "that he was an absolute Stranger to the Affairs of both "Kingdoms, having no other Intelligence, than what he receiv'd from Gentlemen whom he met in the next Room at "Dinner; but he believ'd, by his Majesty's late loss at "*Naseby*, that his condition in *England* was very much worse "than his Servants hoped it would have been; and therefore, "that it might concern him to transact his business in *Scotland* as soon as might be: that he knew not in what state "the Lord *Montrose* was in that Kingdom, but he was perswaded that he was not without opposition. He said, "he "was confident that if he himself had his liberty, he could "do the King considerable Service, and either incline that "Nation powerfully to mediate a Peace in *England*, or po-
sively

“willingly to declare for the King, and joyn with *Montrose*. He said, “he knew, it was believ’d by many, that the Animosity was so great from him to *Montrose*, who indeed had done him very causeless injuries, that he would rather meditate Revenge than concur with him in any Action; but, he said, he too well understood his own danger, if the King and Monarchy were destroy’d in this Kingdom, to think of Private Contention and matters of Revenge, when the Publick was so much at Stake. And he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the Lord *Montrose* had been to him, he had done the King great Service; and therefore protested with many Asservations, “he should joyn with him in the King’s behalf, as with a Brother; and if he could not win his own Brother from the other Party, he would be as much against Him. He said, he could not apprehend that his Liberty could be any way prejudicial to the King; for he would be a Prisoner still upon his Parole; and would engage his Honour, that if he found he could not be able to do his Majesty that acceptable Service, which he desired (of which he had not the least doubt) he would speedily return, and render himself a Prisoner again in the place where he then was. In this discourse he made very great professions, and expressions of his Devotion to the King’s Service, of his Obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had, in this particular, of being useful to his Majesty.

AFTER he made some pause, in expectation of what the Chancellor would say, the Chancellor told him, “he doubted not but he was very able to serve the King both in that and in this Kingdom; there being very many in both who had a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the King was making some Propositions to the *Scottish* Army in *England*, and that it would be a great instance of his Affection and Fidelity to the King, if by any Message from him to his Friends, and Dependents in the *Scottish* Army then before *Hereford*, or to his Friends in *Scotland*, his Brother being the head or prime Person of Power there that opposed *Montrose*, they should declare for the King, or appear willing to do him Service; and that he having free liberty to send, through the Parliament’s Army, to *London*, or into *Scotland*, he might as soon do the King this Service, as receive a Warrant for his enlargement; which, he presumed, he knew could not be granted but by the King himself.

THE Duke replied, “that he expected that Answer, but that it was not possible for him to do any thing by Message or Letter, or any way but by his Presence: First, that they, in whom he had interest, would look upon any thing he should write, or any Message he should send, as the result

"of distress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgement.
 "Besides, he said, he look'd upon himself as very odious to
 "that Nation, which was irreconciled to him for his zeal to
 "the King, and thought this a just judgement of God upon
 "him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his own
 "Brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest influence
 "upon their Counsels, he had no reason to be confident in
 "him, at that distance; for, besides the extreme injury he
 "had done him, in making an escape from *Oxford*, by which
 "both their innocencies were made to be suspected, and for
 "which he should never forgive him, he was the Heir of the
 "House and Family; and he believ'd, would be content that
 "himself should grow old and dye in Prison: whereas, if he
 "were at liberty, and amongst them, he was confident some
 "for love, and others for fear, would stick to him; and he
 "should easily make it appear to those who were interest-
 "gainst the King, that it concern'd their own interest to sup-
 "port the King in his just power. However, he concluded,
 "that the worst that could come was his returning to Prison,
 "which he would not fail to do. So the discourse ended for
 that Night.

THE next day the Duke enter'd again into the same Ar-
 gument, with much earnestness, that the Chancellor would
 interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him,
 "that he was so ill a Courtier, that he could not dissemble to
 "him: that he was not satisfied with his Reasons, and could
 "not but believe, he had interest enough, at that distance, to
 "make some real demonstration of his Affection to the King,
 "by the impression he might make upon his Dependents and
 "Allies: and therefore that he could not offer any advice to
 "the King, to the purpose he desired. He told him, "that
 "he had been present at the Council-Table when the King
 "Communicated that business, which concern'd him, to the
 "Board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and earnestly,
 "for his Commitment; being satisfied, upon the Information
 "that was given concerning him, that his Affection to the
 "King was very Questionable; and that it appear'd, that he
 "had been earnestly press'd by those Persons of Honour in
 "that Kingdom, upon whom his Majesty relied, to declare
 "himself; and that if he could have been induced so to do,
 "having promised the King he would, and having Autho-
 "rity to that purpose from him, they might very easily have
 "suppressed that Rebellion in the bud: but that his Lordship
 "and his Brother, were so far from opposing it, that the very
 "Proclamation which had issued out there for the general In-
 "surrection (which Proclamation was perused at Council-
 "Table, when he was committed) was not only set forth in

“his Majesty's own Name, but Sealed with his Signet; which
 “was then in the Custody of the Earl of *Lawrick* his Brother,
 “he being Secretary of State in that Kingdom. That those
 “who were the principal Informers against him, and who
 “professed that they could do no Service, if he were at lib-
 “erty, now since his restraint, being arm'd with no more Au-
 “thority than he had, at his last being there, when the King-
 “dom was in Peace, had, upon all disadvantages imagin-
 “able, when that Kingdom was totally lost to the King, re-
 “duced the greatest part of it again to his obedience; and there-
 “fore, whether it was his Lordship's Misfortune, or his Fault,
 “since things prosper'd so well in his absence, he could not as
 “a Counsellor, advise the King, without the privacy and
 “consent of the Lord *Mountrose*, or without some such Testi-
 “mony of his Service, as he had before proposed, to give
 “him his Liberty: and that any ill success, which possibly
 “might have no relation to that Act, would yet be imputed
 “to that Counsel; and the Lord *Mountrose* have at least a
 “just, or probable excuse, for any thing that should happen
 “amiss.

THE Duke thanked him for the freedom he had used to-
 wards him; and said, “upon the Information which was
 “given against him, he must acknowledge the proceedings to
 “be very just; but he was confident, whenever he should
 “be admitted to a fair hearing, he should appear very inno-
 “cent from the Allegations which had been given. He said,
 “he had never made the least promise to the King, which he
 “had not exactly perform'd; that he had not Authority or
 “Power to cross any thing that was done to the prejudice of
 “the King; and therefore to have made any such Attempt,
 “or Declaration, as some Lords had desired, in that conjun-
 “cture of time, had been to have destroyed themselves to no
 “purpose: and therefore, he made hast to the King with such
 “Propositions, and Overtures, that he was confident, if he
 “had been admitted to have spoken with his Majesty, at his
 “coming to *Oxford*, he should have given good satisfaction
 “in them; and then intended immediately to have return'd
 “into *Scotland*, with such Authority and Countenance, as the
 “King could well have given him; and doubted not but to
 “have prevented any inconveniences from that Kingdom: but
 “that by his Imprisonment (which he could have prevented,
 “for he had notice upon his Journey, what was intended, and
 “trusted so much in his innocence, that he would not avoid
 “it) all those designs failed. For his Brother, he could say
 “nothing; but he believ'd him an honest Man; and for the
 “proceedings of the Lord *Mountrose*, though he had receiv'd
 “good assistance from *Ireland*, which was a good Foundation,
 Vol. II. Part 2. B b b “he

“he could not but say, it had been little less than miraculous: “However, he presumed the work was not so near done “there, but that His Assistance might be very seasonable. After this they spoke often together; but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present Liberty, and the other as pressing, that he would write to his Friends. Yet the Chancellor promised him “to present, by the first “convenience, his Suit and Proposition to the King; which he shortly after did in a Letter to the Lord *Dagby*.

UPON the first news of the loss of the Battle of *Naseby*, it was enough foreseen, that the Prince himself might be put to a retreat to *Pendennis*-Castle. Therefore they wished, “that “it might be in the Prince’s power, upon an emergent occasion, to remove the Duke from that place. Which consideration the Lord *Colepepper* presented to the King, at his being with him in *Wales*; and thereupon a Warrant was sent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to *Silly*; which was likewise foreseen that the Prince might repair to. As the Enemy drew nearer the West, many good Men were very solicitous, that the Duke should be removed from *Pendennis*, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the Governour; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many Letters were writ to the Council, “that if he were not “speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the Castle “would be betrayed: and *Sr Richard Greenvil* writ earnestly to the Prince about it, as did *Sr Harry Killigrew* (a Person of entire Affections to the King, and a true Friend of the Governour) very importunately. So that about the Month of *November*, the King’s Warrant for his removal was sent to *Sr Arthur Bassett* Governour of the Mount; who went to *Pendennis* in the Morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to *Silly*, when the time should require it; the Duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, “that he could not ride “for the Stone (of which he complain’d so much, that he had Petition’d the King for leave to go into *France* to be cut) and the Governour, and all that Family and Garrison, made shew of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that People of his Integrity and Innocence. But when the Duke saw there was no Remedy, he mounted a Horse that was provided for him, and passed the Journey very well.

Duke Hamilton is removed to the Mount.

AFTER the loss of *Dartmouth*, some Persons of near trust about the Prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the Duke, and believ’d that he would be able to do the King great Service in the business of *Scotland*; and this prevailed so far with one of the Lords of the Council, that, upon the confidence

confidence of Dr *Frazier*, the Prince's Physician, he made a Journey with the Dr to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the Duke, that he had consented "to send a Servant speedily to the *Scotish* Army in *England* " (who should likewise pass by the King, and carry any Letters to his Majesty from the Prince) to persuade them to "comply with the King; and that he would likewise dispatch "*Charles Murray* into *Scotland*, instructed to his Brother *Lamrick*, and that Party, to oblige them to joyn with *Mountrose*. "But Dr *Frazier* confessed to those he trusted, that the Duke "rather consented to it to satisfy that Lord's vehemence and "importunity, than that he had any great hope of success by "it; insinuating still, that nothing but his own Liberty would "do it: for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the Duke had said to the Chancellor, which was, "that the State of *Scotland* "was so sensible of the injury done to the Duke by his imprisonment (which he had said before that they were very glad "of) that they had made an Order, that there should never be "Treaty with the King, or agreeing with *Mountrose*, till he "was at Liberty, or brought to a legal Trial. And when *Charles Murray* went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his Friends, and his Brother, towards their declaring for the King, he discouraged him much as to the Journey, representing to him "his own danger, and the strict Orders that were in *Scotland* against dissuasive Motions; of which, he said, he feared this would be "taken for one.

THIS made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any Treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his Liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, but also that they believ'd, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the King, by being redeem'd out of Prison by the Enemy, than by being released by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince remov'd in that hast and disorder from *Pendennis* to *Silly*, there was no possibility of removing him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many Months, he was enlarged, and remov'd himself to *London* by speedy Journeys on Horseback; and did never after complain of the Stone; which he before protested "would kill him, if he were not cut within a year.

Upon the Surrender of the Mount he obtain'd his Liberty.

*The King's
transfusions
at Oxford.*

WE left the King in *Oxford*, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering Marches, in which he had been so many Months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful Counsellors and Servants, whose Affection and Loyalty had first engaged them in his Service, and made them stick to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stem that mighty Torrent that overbore both Him and Them, paid him still the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some Garrisons remaining in his Obedience, which were like, during the Winter Season, to be preserv'd from any attempt of the Enemy. But upon the Approach of Spring, if the King should be without an Army in the Field, the Fate of those few places was eafie to be discern'd. And which way an Army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest Man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. *Worcester*, as it was Neighbouring to *Wales*, had the greatest Oulter and Elbow-room; and the Parliament party that had gotten any Footing there, behaved themselves with that Insolence and Tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon which prospect, and some invitation, the King sent the Lord *Ashley* (whom he had before, at his being at *Cardiff*, constituted Governour of those Parts, in the place of the Lord *Gerrard*) to *Worcester*, with order "to proceed, as he should find himself able, towards the gathering a Body of Horse together, "against the Spring, from those Garrisons which were left, "and from *Wales*: and what progress he made towards it will be soon known.

*Cromwell
takes Win-
chester and
Basing.*

WHEN a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertain'd; all that occur'd, appear'd so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new Overture for a Treaty of Peace: for which, they who advised it, had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. *Cromwell* had left *Fairfax* in the West, and with a Party Selected had set down before *Basing*, and his imperious Summons having been rejected, he Storm'd the Place and took it, and put most of the Garrison to the Sword: and a little before *Winchester* had Surrender'd upon easy conditions. The lesser Garrisons in the North, which had stood out till now, were render'd every day; and the

Scotish Army, which had march'd as far as their own Borders, was called back, and required to Besiege *Newark*. So that whoever thought the sending to the Parliament (puffed up and swollen with so many Successes) for a Peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. This reflection alone prevail'd with the King, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, "to choose any expedient, "they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any "Message they would advise his Majesty to send to the Parliament. And when they had consider'd it, the Overtures he had already made, by two several Messages, to which he had receiv'd no Answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this "Message should contain nothing but a resentment of That, "and a demand of an Answer to the Messages his Majesty "had formerly sent for a Treaty of Peace.

This Message had the same entertainment which the former had receiv'd. It was receiv'd, read, and then laid aside without any Debate; which they who wish'd well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still found means to convey their advice to *Oxford*, "that the King should not "give over that importunity: and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, "that the neglecting those gracious invitations, made by his Majesty for "Peace, would shortly make the Parliament so odious, that "they would not dare long to continue in the same obstinacy. The *Scots* were griev'd and enraged, to see their Idol *Presbytery* so undervalued, and slighted, that besides the Independents power in the City, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost Credit and Authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a Treaty for Peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the King's Power, were now much more afraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of His Authority; and believ'd, that if a Treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: or whatever they believ'd themselves, they convey'd this to some about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: And some Men took upon them to send the subject of what Message the King should send, and cloath'd in such expressions, as they conceiv'd were like to gain ground; which his Majesty could not but graciously accept; though he very seldom imitated their Style.

*The King
sends another
Message for
Peace, which
was laid a-
side by the
House.*

*His Majesty
sends again
for a Safe
Conduct for
the Duke of
Richmond*

AFTER the King had long expected an Answer to his last Message, induced by those and the like reasons above mention'd, he sent again to the Parliament, "that they would

B b b 3

"send and others.

Their Answer.

“send a Safe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, and the
 “Earl of *Southampton*, Mr *John Ashburnham*, and Mr *Geoffrey*
 “*Palmer*; by whom he would make such particular Propo-
 “sitions to them as he hoped would produce a Peace. To
 “this they return’d an Answer, such as it was, “that it would
 “be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence,
 “to admit those Lords and Gentlemen to come into their
 “Quarters; but that they were preparing some Propositions,
 “which, when finish’d, should be sent to his Majesty in Bills,
 “to be Sign’d by him; which would be the only way to pro-
 “duce a Peace. The King understood well what such Bills
 “would contain, and which when he had granted, he should
 “have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such
 “conclusions should be made without a Treaty. He resolv’d
 “once more to try another way, which having been never yet
 “try’d, he believ’d they could not deny; and if granted, what
 “hazard soever his Person should be in, he should discover,
 “whether he had so many Friends in the Parliament, and the
 “City, as many Men would perswade him to conclude; and
 “whether the *Scots* had ever a thought of doing him Service.
 “He sent to them, towards the end of *December*, “that since
 “all other Overtures had prov’d ineffectual, He desired to
 “enter into a Personal Treaty with the two Houses of Par-
 “liament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parlia-
 “ment of *Scotland*, upon all matters which might conduce
 “to the Peace and Happiness of the distracted Kingdoms;
 “and to that purpose his Majesty would come to *London*, or
 “*Westminster*, with such of his Servants as now attended him,
 “and their followers, not exceeding in the whole the Num-
 “ber of three hundred Persons, if he might have the engage-
 “ment of the two Houses of Parliament, the Commissioners
 “of the Parliament of *Scotland*, of the Chief Commanders in
 “*St Thomas Fairfax’s* Army, and of those of the *Scottish* Army,
 “for his Free and Safe coming to, and abode in *London*, or
 “*Westminster*, for the space of forty days; and after that
 “time, for his Free and Safe repair to *Oxford*; *Worcester*, or
 “*Newark*, if a Peace should not be concluded: For their bet-
 “ter encouragement to hope well from this Treaty, his Ma-
 “jesty offer’d to settle the Militia in such Persons as should
 “be acceptable to them.

Their Answer.

THIS Message indeed awaken’d them, and made them be-
 lieve that the Gamesters who were to play this Game, look’d
 into their hands, and hoped to find a Party in their own
 Quarters; and that if they should neglect to send an Answer
 to this Message, their Silence might be taken for consent,
 and that they should quickly hear the King was in *London*;
 which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than
 ordinary

ordinary hast, to let his Majesty know, "that there had been
 "no delay on their parts; but for the Personal Treaty de-
 "fired by his Majesty, after so much Innocent Blood shed in
 "the War by his Commands, and Commissions (with the
 "mention of many other odious particulars) "they conceiv'd,
 "that until Satisfaction and Security were first given to both
 "Kingdoms, his Majesty's coming thither could not be con-
 "venient; nor by them assented to; nor did they apprehend
 "it a means conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for
 "few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to
 "Hostility again. They observ'd, "that his Majesty desired
 "the engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the
 "Chief Commanders in *St Thomas Fairfax's* Army, and those
 "of the *Scottish* Army; which, they said, was against the Pri-
 "vilege and Honour of Parliament, to have those joyn'd with
 "them, who were Subject and Subordinate to their Autho-
 "rity. They renew'd what they had said in their last An-
 "swer, "that they would shortly send some Bills to his Majesty,
 "the signing of which would be the best way to procure a
 "good, and a safe Peace.

THOUGH the King was not willing to acquiesce with this *The King*
 stubborn rejection, but sent Message upon Message still to *sends again.*
 them for a better Answer, and at last offer'd "to dismantle
 "all his Garrisons, and so come to and reside with his Par-
 "liament, if all they who had adhered to him, might be at
 "liberty to live in their own Houses, and to enjoy their own
 "Estates, without being obliged to take any Oaths, but
 "what were enjoyn'd by the Law; he could never procure
 any other Answer from them. And lest all this should not
 appear Affront enough, they publish'd an Ordinance, as they *Their Ordi-*
 call'd it, "that if the King should, contrary to the advice of *nance there-*
 "the Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to *upon.*
 "come, within the Lines of Communication, the Committee
 "of the Militia should raise such Forces as they should think
 "fit, to prevent any Tumult that might arise by his coming,
 "and to suppress any that should happen; and to apprehend
 "any who should come with him, or resort to him; and to
 "secure his Person from Danger: which was an expression
 they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no
 Danger that threaten'd him, but what themselves contriv'd,
 and design'd against him. To this their Ordinance, they
 added another Injunction, "that all who had ever borne
 "Armes for his Majesty (whereof very many upon the Sur-
 render of Garrisons, and liberty granted to them, by their
 Articles upon those Surrenders, were come thither) "should
 "immediately depart, and go out of *London*, upon penalty of
 "being proceeded against as Spies. So that all doors being,

in this obstinate manner, shut against a Treaty, all thoughts of That, at least with reference to the Parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to get such a power together, as might make them see that his Majesty was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself.

*The King
sees to deal
with the In-
dependents:*

WHEN all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any Treaty with the Parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a Peace any other way; the sustaining the War, with any probability of Success, was the next desirable thing to a Peace, and preferable before any such Peace, as was probably to be hoped for from the Party that govern'd the Army, which govern'd the Parliament. The King therefore used all the means which occur'd to him, or which were advis'd and propos'd by others, to divide the Independent Party; and to prevail with some principal Persons of them, to find their Content and Satisfaction in advancing his Interest. That Party comprehended many who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be establish'd upon the foundations of Both, so their own particular Ambitions might be comply'd with. To them the King thought he might be able to propose very valuable Compensations for any Service they could do Him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the *Scots*, seem'd no unnatural Argument to work upon those, who profess'd to be sway'd by matter of Liberty of Conscience in Religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their Scruples, and their Principles in Church Government, from those who pretended to Erect the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*. And it was thought to be no ill Presage towards the repairing of the Fabrick of the Church of *England*, that it's two Mortal Enemies, who had expos'd it to so much Persecution and Oppression, hated each other as mortally, and labour'd each others Destruction, with the same Fury and Zeal they had both practis'd towards Her. This reasonable imagination very much dispos'd the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly Spirit and Malice of the Presbyterians, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the Independents; a Faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his Majesty's extraordinary Affection for the Church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility, and irreconcilableness of that Faction with the Government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the *English* Nation should submit to any other than Monarchical Government. There were besides an over-active and busy kind of Men, who still undertook

undertook to make Overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal Leaders of that Party, and as with their Authority, and so prevail'd with the King, to suffer some Persons of Credit near him, to make some Propositions, in his Name, to particular Persons. And it is very probable, that as the same Men, made the expectations of those People appear to the King much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they perswaded the others to believe, that his Majesty would yield to many more important Concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. So either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each others intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the Independents were willing, that the King should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the King as willing that they should believe that his Majesty might be prevail'd with to grant more, than at first he appear'd resolv'd to do. *But is vain.*

THE truth is, though that Party was most prevalent in the Parliament; and comprehended all the Superior Officers of the Army (the General only excepted; who thought himself a Presbyterian) yet there were only three Men, *Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton*, who govern'd and dispos'd all the rest according to their Sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own Party, nor would their Party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagin'd, that they had entertain'd those thoughts of Heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

THERE was another Intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of Success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a Treaty with the *Scots*, by the Interposition and Mediation of the Crown of *France*; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an Envoy, one *Montrevil*, to *London*, with some formal Address to the Parliament, but intentionally to Negotiate between the King and the *Scots*; whose Agent at *Paris* had given encouragement to the Queen of *England*, then there, to hope that That Nation would return to their Duty; and the Queen Regent, in the great generosity of her Heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in Her Power to the King's recovery. To that purpose, she sent *Montrevil* at this time with Credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to Communicate her Advice to the King her Husband; and the Envoy had Authority "to engage the Faith of *France*, for the performance of whatsoever the King should promise to the *Scots*." *A Treaty between the King and the Scots, as on foot by the Interposition of France: And Montrevil is sent for that purpose.*

THIS

THIS was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that a Foreign Sovereign Prince gave, of wishing a Reconciliation, or to put a period to the Civil War in his Majesty's Dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old Maxim, "that the Crown of *England* could "Balance the Differences which fell out between the Princes "of *Europe*, by it's inclining to either Party, had made the Ministers of our State too negligent in cultivating the Affections of their Neighbours by any real Obligations; as if they were to be Arbiters only in the Differences which fell out between others, without being themselves lyable to any impression of adverse Fortune. This made the unexpected Calamity that befel this Kingdom not ingrateful to it's Neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weaken'd and chastis'd by it's own strokes.

CARDINAL *Richelieu*, out of the haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite of revenge, under the disguise of being jealous of the Honour of his Master, had discover'd an implacable hatred against the *English*, ever since that unhappy provocation by the Invasion of the Isle of *Ree*, and the declared Protection of *Rebel*; and took the first opportunity, from the indisposition and murmurs of *Scotland*, to warm that People into Rebellion, and saw the Poyson thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the *French* Embassadour in the Parliament, with all the Venome of his Heart; as hath been mention'd before. As he had not unwisely driven the Queen Mother out of *France*, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn her self from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her Daughter, the Queen of *England*, from coming thither; which she resolv'd to have done, when she carried the Princess Royal into *Holland*; in hope to work upon the King her Brother, to make such a reasonable Declaration against the Rebels of *England*, and *Scotland*, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her Presence would not be acceptable in *France*; and so, for the present, that enterprise was declin'd.

BUT that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himself dying within a short time after, the Administration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, in the Infancy of the King, and under his Mother, the Queen Regent, was committed to Cardinal *Maxarin*, an *Italian* by Birth, and rais'd by *Richelieu* to the degree of a Cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting *Cesul* into the hands of *France*, when the *Spaniards* had given it up to him, as the Nuntio of the Pope, and in trust that it should

should remain in the Possession of his Holiness, till the Title of the Duke of *Mantua* should be determin'd. This Cardinal was a Man rather of different, than contrary Parts from his Predecessor; and fitter to build upon the Foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those Foundations; and to cultivate, by Artifice, Dexterity, and Dissimulation (in which his Nature and Parts excell'd) what the other had begun with great Resolution and Vigour, and even gone through with invincible Constancy and Courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the Head of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and reducing Monsieur, the Brother of the King, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another Rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all Men, now sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. And how great things soever this last Minister perform'd for the Service of that Crown, during the Minority of the King, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had reduced and dispos'd the whole Nation to an entire Subjection and Submission to what should be impos'd upon them.

CARDINAL *Mazarin*, when he came first to that great Ministry, was without any Personal Antimosity against our King, or the *English* Nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involv'd in, than as it disabled the whole People from making such a conjunction with the *Spaniard*, as might make the prosecution of that War (upon which his whole Heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the Residence of *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, Embassador from the King of *Spain*, still at *London*, making all Addresses to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compell'd in the last year, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex* into the West, to Transport her self out of *Cornwall* into *France*, she had found there as good a reception, as she could expect; and receiv'd as many expressions of kindness from the Queen Regent, and as ample promises from the Cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised her self a very good effect from her Journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of Armes and Ammunition, as, though of no great value in it self, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's Condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little ordinary Supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him Victorious over his Enemies; when he might more remember, how slender Aid he had receiv'd, than That he had been assist'd; and might here-
after

after make himself Arbiter of the Peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a Neutrality between the King and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concern'd for the King.

BUT after the Battle of *Naseby* was lost, and that the King seem'd so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an Army, that might be able to resist the Enemy, the Cardinal was Awakened to new Apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the Monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the Crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he receiv'd from the generosity of the Queen Regent, who really desired to supply some Substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any Propositions from the Queen of *England*, by which She thought that the King her Husband's Service might be advanced; and had always the Dexterity and Artifice, by letting things fall in discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceiv'd, to cause that to be propos'd to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. So he had Application enough from the Covenanting Party of *Scotland* (who from the beginning had depended upon *France*, by the encouragement and promises of Cardinal *Richelieu*) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the Queen of *England*, that they might come recommended by her Majesty to him, as a good Expedient for the King's Service. For they were not now reserv'd in their Complaints of the Treatment they receiv'd from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent Army, and of their Faction in both Houses; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and if her Majesty would desire the Cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the King's behalf, to the *Scots* upon this their engagement, "the Crown of *France* should give credit and engage, as well that the *Scots* should perform all that they should promise, as that the King should make good whatsoever should be undertaken by Him, "or by the Queen on his behalf.

Montrevil's Negotiation with the King.

THIS was the occasion and ground of sending Monsieur *Montrevil* into *England*, as is mention'd before. He arriv'd there in *January*, with as much credit as the Queen Regent could give him to the *Scots*, and as the Queen of *England* could

could give him to the King ; who likewise perswaded his Majesty, to believe, “ that *France* was now become really kind “ to him, and would engage all it’s power to serve him ; and “ that the Cardinal was well assured, that the *Scots* would be- “ have themselves henceforwards very honestly : which his Majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed ; and all the Overtures made by him for a Treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceiv’d ; and discern’d that this Treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former Overtures had done. For the first Information he receiv’d from *Montrevil*, after his arrival in *England*, and after he had conferred with the *Scottish* Commissioners, was, “ that they peremptorily insisted upon his Ma- “ jesty’s Condescension, and Promise, for the Establishment of “ the Presbyterian Government in *England*, as it was in *Scot- “ land* ; without which, he said, there was no hope, that they “ would ever joynt with his Majesty ; and therefore the Envoy pressed his Majesty “ to give them satisfaction therein, as the “ advice of the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, and likewise “ of the Queen of his Wife ; which exceedingly troubled the “ King. And the *Scots* alledged confidently, “ that the Queen “ had expressly promised to *Sr Robert Moray* (a cunning and a dextrous Man, who had been employ’d by them to her Ma- jesty) “ that his Majesty should consent thereunto. They produced a Writing Sign’d by the Queen, and deliver’d to *Sr Robert Moray*, wherein there were such expressions concern- ing Religion, as nothing pleased the King ; and made him look upon that Negotiation, as rather a Conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholicks and Presbyterians, than as an Expedient for his Restoration, or Preservation : and he was very much displeased with some Persons, of near trust about the Queen, to whose misinformation, and advice, he imputed what her Majesty had done in that particular.

THEREUPON he deferr’d not to let *Montrevil* know, “ that the alteration of the Government in the Church “ was expressly against his Conscience ; and that he would “ never consent to it ; that what the Queen his Wife had “ seem’d to promise, proceeded from her not being well in- “ form’d of the constitution of the Government of *England* ; “ which could not consist with the change that was proposed. But his Majesty offer’d, “ to give all the assurance imaginable, “ and hoped that the Queen Regent would engage her Royal “ word on his behalf in that particular, that the Maintenance “ and Support of the Episcopal Government in *England*, should “ not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to that “ Government that was then settled in *Scotland* ; and, farther he offer’d, “ that, if the *Scots* should desire to have the “ free

“free exercise of their Religion, according to their own principles and custome, whilst they should be at any time in *England*, he would assign them convenient places to that purpose in *London*, or any other part of the Kingdom, where they should desire it. Nor could all the Importunity or Arguments, used by *Montrevil*, prevail with his Majesty to enlarge those Concessions, or in the least to recede from the constancy of his resolution; though he inform'd him of the dissatisfaction both the *Scottish* Commissioners, and the Presbyterians in *London* had in his Majesty's resolution, and averſeness from gratifying them in that, which they always had, and always would insist upon; and that the *Scots* were resolv'd to have no more to do with his Majesty; but to agree with the Independents; from whom they could have better conditions than from Him; and he fear'd such an Agreement was too far advanced already.

MANY Answers and Replies passed between the King and *Montrevil* in Cipher, and with all imaginable Secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the King very clear and impartial information of the temper, and of the discourses of those People with whom he was to Transact. And though he did, upon all occasions, with much earnestness, advise his Majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the *Scots*, which, he did believe, he would be at last compell'd to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the Arguments the Talent of his Understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the *Scots* to be contented with what the King had so frankly offer'd and granted to them; and did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their Nation depended upon the preservation of the King, and the support of his Regal Authority. And it is very memorable, that, in Answer to a Letter which *Montrevil* writ to the King, and in which he persuaded his Majesty to agree with the *Scots* upon their own demands, and amongst other Arguments, assured his Majesty, “that the *English* Presbyterians were fully agreed with the *Scots* (which his Majesty believ'd they would never be) the *Scots* having declared, “that they would never insist upon the settling any other Government than was at that time practiced in *London*; urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtain'd; the King, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his Letter of the 21st of *January* to Monsieur *Montrevil*, “Let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes; without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretel their ruin; except they agree with Me; however it shall please God to dispose of Me;

“Me; which they had great reason to remember after.

BUT because, though this Treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, before the end of the present Year, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some Months after the next Year was begun, we shall put an end to our Relation of it at present, and resume what remains, in it's place of the Year ensuing : Only, before we finish our Account of the Actions of this unfortunate Year forty five, we must mention one more, which happen'd on the two and twentieth of *March*, just as the Year was expiring.

THE King had hoped to draw out of the few Garrisons still in his possession, such a Body of Horse and Foot, as might enable Him to take the Field early in the Spring, though without any fixed design. But this was dash'd in the very beginning, by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Ashley* underwent ; who being upon his March from *Worcester* towards *Oxford*, with two thousand Horse and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another Body of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, Letters and Orders miscarried, and were intercepted ; whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the Resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several Garrisons of *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Evesham*. So that the Lord *Ashley* was no sooner upon his March, but they follow'd him ; and the second day, after he had marched all night, when he thought he had escap'd all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops ; which, though a bold and stout Resistance was made, were at last totally Defeated ; and the Lord *Ashley* himself, *Sr Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and most of the other Officers, who were not kill'd, were taken Prisoners. The few who escap'd, were so scatter'd and disperfed, that they never came together again ; nor did there remain, from that time, any possibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

The Year 1645 concludes with the Defeat of the Lord Ashley's Forces.









